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COMMODORE MATTHEW CALBRAITH PERRY

A TYPICAL AMERICAN NAVAL OFFICER

THE life of the subject of this sketch is interesting for the following excellent reasons:

1. While yet a lad, he was active as a naval officer in the war of 1812.
2. He chose the location of the first free black settlement in Liberia.
3. He was to the end of his life one of the leading educators of the United States Navy.
4. He was the father of our steam navy.
5. He first demonstrated the efficiency of the ram as a weapon of offense in naval warfare.
6. He founded the naval apprenticeship system.
7. He was an active instrument in assisting to extirpate the foreign slave trade on the coast of Africa.
8. He commanded in 1847 the largest squadron which up to that date had ever assembled under the American flag in the Gulf of Mexico. The naval battery manned by his pupils in gunnery decided the fate of Vera Cruz, and the fleet's presence enabled Scott's army to reach the capital.
9. His final triumph was the opening of Japan to the world—one of the three single events in American History—the Declaration of Independence, and the Arbitration of the Alabama claims being the other two—which have had the greatest influence upon the world at large.

Justice has never yet been fully done to the memory of this illustrious son of Rhode Island, and faithful servant of the United States. The dramatic incidents of war are apt to impress the popular mind more profoundly, and rouse the national imagination to intenser interest, than genius in diplomacy, statesmanship, skill in invention, or undramatic professional work. The canvas and the bronze, medal and national currency, multiplied biography and the orator's rhetoric keep alive the memory of the battle scenes in which Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry figured so bravely and well; but the deeds of the equally illustrious and, as I think, greater brother rest untrumpeted in the dusty pigeon-holes and sepulchre-like archives of the Navy Department at Washington. The grandeur of a victory

won without the firing of a shot or the loss of a life impresses only the reflective few.

Hence the fame of Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry has been overshadowed by that of the hero of Lake Erie, whose name is not infrequently confounded with that of his brother; the two are in many minds supposed to be one. Index-makers entangle and confuse the pair, treating them as Shakespeare's two Dromios, or as Siamese twins, unduly lengthening one life, and prematurely introducing the other upon the stage of history. Several biographies of Oliver Hazard Perry have been written, none of Matthew Calbraith Perry has yet appeared. The collection of materials for the last-named work has been a labor of love with the writer of this sketch, who in a tongue other than his own has heard the name of Matthew Calbraith Perry spoken reverently and with enthusiasm, as the moral liberator of a nation: and can testify to the tenderness with which his memory is cherished in Japan, as well as in Africa and America.

It is a remarkable fact that two of the most pronounced triumphs of American diplomacy—the opening of Japan and Corea, after the envoys of many nations had failed—were achieved by purely naval officers—Commodores M. C. Perry and R. W. Shufeldt.

Matthew C. Perry, justly called the father of the American steam navy, and known the world over as the sailor-diplomat who opened Japan, was a typical American naval officer. The word "type," as defined by Webster, signifies "the aggregate of characteristic qualities," or "that which is representative." Whatever is typical, therefore, combines the essentials of a type. The American naval officer's characteristics are, we consider, thoroughness of professional education, capacity for details and universals, knowledge of men and of governments, the combination of the independent with the co-operative spirit, alertness to the needs of the times, together with the grand old virtues of patriotism, manliness, courage, coolness and skill. Our distinguished subject possessed all these. He came of Devonshire English stock on the paternal, and of Scotch-Irish stock on the maternal side. His ancestor in the sixth degree was Edward Perry, born in 1630. Well educated, he became a Quaker preacher, whom the Spirit often moved. Suffering annoyances if not persecution under Cromwell's government, he helped, by emigrating to America, in what a certain writer has called "The Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts." Settling at Plymouth, he married the daughter of Edmund Freeman, the assistant-governor of the colony. In crossing the ocean, however—if we may mix such contradictory metaphors as fire and water—he leaped from the frying-pan into the fire, for Massachusetts soon gave him a hot reception. He was an unusually militant

Broadbrim, and in 1576 retaliated upon his persecutors, by writing "a railing accusation against the court of Plymouth," copies of which are still preserved, and for which he was heavily fined. Here, we behold the foun-



COMMODORE M. C. PERRY.

[From a Photograph from life in the possession of Mrs. August Belmont.]

tain-head of that stream of irrepressible fighting quality so often manifested on ship and shore, in war and in politics, and last exhibited by our young Long Island congressman, Perry Belmont, a grandson of the Commodore.

Banished from Massachusetts, the son of Edward Perry emigrated to Rhode Island, in company with Roger Williams, and purchased land near South Kingston. From the first, friendship was secured with the Indians; and one of the faithful aborigines served with Commodore Oliver H. Perry, losing his life at Lake Erie. The original farm still remains in possession of the family, and near the site of the rebuilt homestead is the ancestral cemetery.

The father of the two commodores was Christopher Raymond Perry, who was born December 4, 1761. He served during the Revolution as a volunteer in the Kingston Reds, and on the *Mifflin*, an American privateer, which was captured, and he, with the crew, lodged in the *Jersey* prison ship at New York. Fortunately escaping from the floating coffin, he served as soon as his health allowed on board the *Governor Trumbull*, commanded by Captain James Nicholson, and again on a privateer, which was taken by a British frigate while off the English coast. He was sent to Ireland as a prisoner, and held for eighteen months.

This proved a blessing in disguise, for during that period he met his future wife, the mother of many heroes. He first saw the young lady, Miss Sarah Alexander, of Newry, County Down, during his parole, and was much impressed by her spirit and beauty. Reaching America by way of the West Indies and Charleston, he made a voyage to Ireland as the mate of a ship. On the return trip in 1784, Miss Alexander, then an orphan girl sixteen years of age, took passage on the same ship to visit an uncle in Philadelphia. She came under the care of a Mr. Calbraith, whose son, a little boy named Matthew, was a great favorite with the Irish lassie. On the long voyage, there was time for friendship to ripen into love, and that time was well improved. On their arrival in the City of Brotherly Love, they were met by Doctor Benjamin Rush with the news of her uncle's death, and so the young couple, Christopher Raymond Perry and Sarah Alexander, were married at once, and removed to the Perry farm in Rhode Island.

From this marriage have descended probably more naval officers than from any one American connection, that of the Nicholsons alone excepted. Of the eight children were three daughters: Anna, became the wife of Commodore George Rodgers, killed in Charleston Harbor, 1863. Another married Dr. Butler, of South Carolina, the father of Matthew Calbraith Butler, United States Senator; and the third remained single. Of the sons, Oliver Hazard was the hero of Lake Erie. James Alexander, who was in the boat with his older brother, the commodore, when crossing from the St. Lawrence to the Niagara, had his hat pierced and a curl of his hair cut



SILVER SALVER IN POSSESSION OF COMMODORE M. C. PERRY'S DAUGHTER, MRS. AUGUST BELMONT.

off by bullets. He was drowned at Valparaiso in 1821, while trying to rescue a companion. The fourth and fifth sons, Nathaniel and Raymond, were both naval officers.

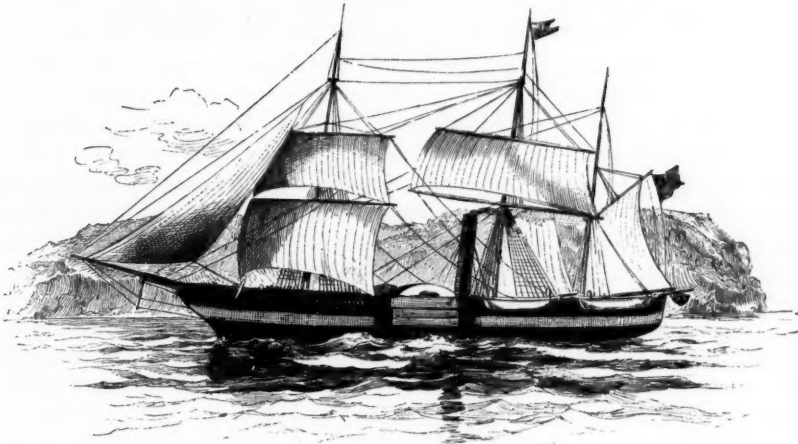
Matthew was the third son in this decidedly naval family. Their father being away at sea most of the time, holding the rank of Captain in the American navy, their training fell upon the young mother, and sublimely did she fulfill her charge. Those who knew her in later life speak of her as "a Spartan mother," "a grand old lady." Her ancestry was Scotch. She was descended from Sir William Wallace, and was proud of it. Having emigrated to North Ireland, her people, though Protestants, were involved in the Irish rebellion in Cromwell's time. In her childhood she had often listened to accounts of the battles which had taken place on her native soil, and now, as a mother, she loved to recount them again to her children. Believing that her people were the bravest in the world, she fired the minds of her own boys with the ineradicable passion of patriotism, and a thirst for the display of valor, while at the same time training them to the severest virtue, purest motives, a love for literature, and a reverence for sacred things. The habit which Matthew C. Perry had of reading his Bible through once during every cruise, and his fondness for the English classics, were created at his mother's knee.

The circumstances of Mrs. Perry's death were interesting and tragic. In 1821, while living at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, at which her son-in-law, Commodore Geo. W. Rodgers, was then second in command, there were hundreds of Irishmen employed, who, on St. Patrick's Day, were accustomed to serenade the commanding officers. The news of the death of her son James had come but a few hours before, and this time, forgetting what day it was, and prostrated with grief, the aged lady was in her room over the piazza. The Irish bands usually made their approach playing the most rollicking airs; but hearing of the mother's loss, they approached quietly and with muffled tread until near the piazza. Suddenly the united bands burst forth in the Coronach—the Irish death wail. The shock was too great. She fell insensible to the floor, following three of her five sons in death. Surely, of such mothers our country may well be proud, and our prayer be for many more.

Matthew Calbraith Perry was born at Newport, April 10, 1794. In the matter of his birthday, the encyclopædias are as divergent as seven Dutch weathercocks, four pointing to Newport and three to Kingston; but the family Bible, now in possession of Mrs. August Belmont, has given us our data. He was named after Matthew Calbraith, his mother's little friend. When about ten years old, the future commodore was visited by his name-

sake, who, being delighted with the boy, prophesied some of the greatness actually attained. Calbraith was the familiar home-name for the eager child who loved so much to look upon the sea, and whose especial delight was to gaze at the gayly-decked packet boat which once a year set out from Newport to Providence, carrying the governor from one capital to the other.

There was much in the social atmosphere and historical associations of Newport, at the opening of this century, to nourish the ambition



THE UNITED STATES STEAM FRIGATE MISSISSIPPI.

[Flagship of the Expedition to Japan.]

and fire the imagination of an impressible lad. Out in the bay lay the hulk of the famous ship *Endeavor*, in which Captain Cook had circumnavigated the globe and observed the transit of Venus. Hither had tarried Dean, afterward Bishop, Berkeley, whose prophecy, "Westward the course of empire takes its way," was fulfilled by Perry, even across the Pacific to Japan. Here, too, had come the first American bishop, Seabury, visiting the Perry home, seeing Matthew Calbraith, and giving Episcopal confirmation to Oliver Hazard. Besides living at Newport, several of his boyhood's years were spent in such places as Westerly, Warren, and the then courtly town of Tower Hill, from which the blue sea, dotted with white-winged ships, and full of mystery and fascination, was ever visible. Few incidents of Matthew's boyhood are preserved, for nearly all of those

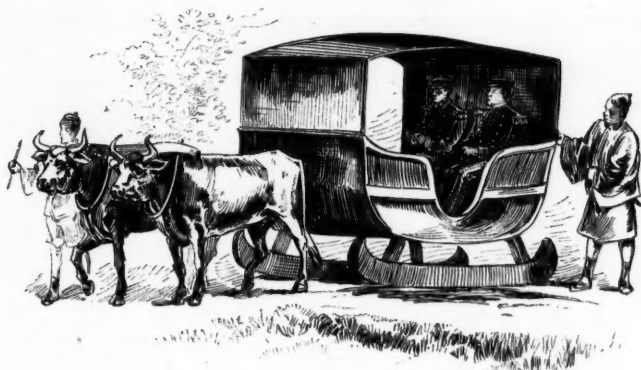
who knew the lad have "joined the majority," and one who seeks now is a generation too late.

On the 1st of March, 1809, being then but fifteen years of age, our hero was appointed midshipman, and took his first cruise in the schooner *Revenge*. Later, under Commodore John Rodgers, he began his three years' training on the frigate *President*, amid the dangers that beset our commerce from insolent British cruisers, charged with the boarding of our ships and the impressment of our seamen. All five of the Perry brothers served in the war which broke out in 1812. In 1813 Matthew was made a lieutenant, and served the next year with Decatur during eight months. He was in "the affair of the *President* and *Little Belt*," and in the chase of the *Belvidera*, when "the first hostile shot afloat" in 1812 was fired by Rodgers. He was slightly wounded by the bursting of a cannon. Under such masters, it is no wonder that he became "a typical American naval officer." There was no Naval Academy in those days, all the training was on board ship, and the chaplain was both schoolmaster and professor-extraordinary. From the first, however, Perry became proficient in science and literature as well as in technical naval art, and to the end of his life, not only was his thirst for knowledge insatiable, but he was ever known to be one of the foremost naval men of the age.

Here let me remark that while many Americans may find their impressions of the greatness of our country in the contemplation of its material resources or vastness of territory, I confess that in the quality of her greatness and the grandeur of her history as revealed in the naval archives at Washington—where are preserved the letters of Rodgers, Nicholson, Bainbridge, Hull, Decatur, and the names of our naval captains from the Revolution to the present day—I have found more to stir the soul, and take augury for the future. It gives one a vivid sense of our national glory to look upon these time-stained autographs which make history so real.

On the 14th of December, 1814, Lieutenant Matthew C. Perry was married to Miss Jane Slidell, a young lady then seventeen years old, a daughter of a prominent merchant in New York, and sister to the Hon. John Slidell, afterwards United States Senator from Louisiana. The children by this marriage were seven—four daughters and three sons—of whom three daughters are still living, Sarah, wife of Colonel R. S. Rodgers, of Maryland; Caroline Slidell, wife of August Belmont of New York; and Isabella Bolton, wife of George Tiffany of Newport, Rhode Island.

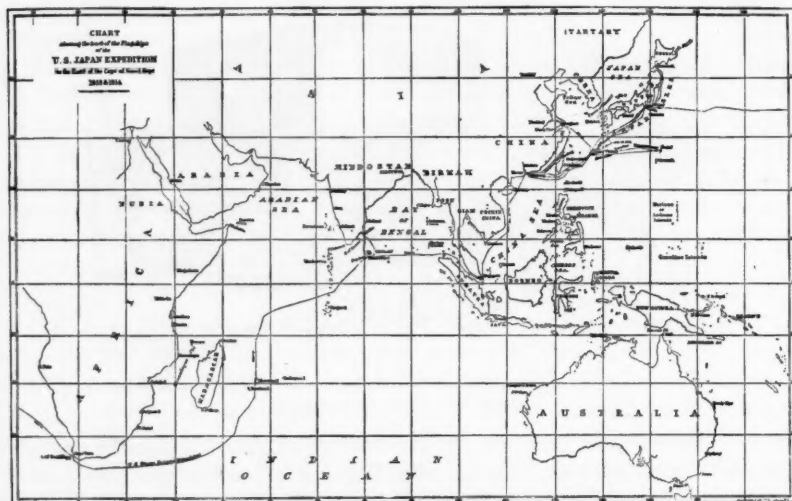
The war of 1812 over, the young officer was detached for duty at the Brooklyn Navy Yard; and in 1819, during which year his father and brother Oliver died, he went on the *Cyane* to Africa, the vessel being sent



COMMODORE PERRY MAKING OFFICIAL VISITS AT FUNCHALL, MADEIRA, IN THE FASHIONABLE CONVEYANCE OF THE CITY, IN 1852.

by our Government to assist the American Colonization Society to make their first settlement in Liberia. Finding the colony at Sherbro Island, near Sierra Leone, in a sickly condition and the climate deadly, Perry chose Mesurado, a healthier location. Captain Stockton and Dr. Ayres, the United States Agent, afterwards confirmed the choice of site, and transferred the settlers thither. Thus began Liberia; and Monrovia, named after President Monroe, was soon after founded. From 1822 to '25, Lieutenant Perry cruised in the schooner *Shark* in the West Indies after the pirates, which in those days threatened our commerce, even up to our city wharves. American ship-building was then in its glory, and our men-of-war were the equals of any in the world. The old *North Carolina*, which now lies a colossal hulk at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, looking to us like a cross between Noah's Ark and a grain elevator, was then a new "seventy-five" gun ship, and a superb sight when at sea, under full sail. She carried over a hundred cannon, and her broadsides were the heaviest then fired by any ship of war. Perry was her first lieutenant and executive officer. He served also as Commodore Rodgers' fleet captain in the Mediterranean, and all who remember Perry know what a disciplinarian he was, while yet no one accuses him of being a martinet. Brusque in his manners, he yet had a kindly heart. At home again, he spent the years 1828 and 1829 at Charleston, South Carolina, and at Boston, on shore duty.

Placed in command of the *Concord*, in 1830, he carried John Randolph to Europe. Being thus loyally the servant of his country, he had nothing further to do with that piece of diplomatic jobbery which cost the



FROM PERRY'S NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITION.

(Copied by permission.)

United States many thousands of wasted dollars. We sent a minister to Russia, who, after falling on his knees to the Czarina, spent ten days in Russia and a year and a half in England. Between the captain and the envoy no love was lost. On his return Perry was made a master-commandant and founded the Brooklyn Naval Lyceum, which has done much to elevate the standard of professional culture in the navy, and is still in honorable existence. He declined the command of the Pacific Exploring Expedition, as he wished to perfect the scheme of a naval apprenticeship system which he was finally enabled to carry out, and which in substance remains—a most excellent provision for supplying native-born lads to the naval service.

Perry was one of the first officers in the United States navy to give himself to the study and complete mastery of the application of steam to naval vessels, and their tactics in action. He superintended the building of our first war steamer, the *Fulton*, and organized her staff of naval engineers. He also organized and was given command of the school of gunnery at Sandy Hook, and under his supervision a number of young officers were trained to be scientific artillerymen, equal, it may be safely said, to any others in the world. The utmost precision was reached in the use of shell guns, the fruits of which were seen in the arm-

ing of our ships with guns having the power of horizontal shell fire, and the superb practice shown ten years later at Vera Cruz. Perry was a man of advanced ideas, at home in the forefront of science and invention as well as their application. He sometimes tried the temper of inventors who lived in the clouds and fed on azure, yet he gave all, however visionary, a fair chance, for he believed in constant progress. He foresaw the necessity of rifled ordnance and armor, and actually anticipated the idea of sinking a ship by propulsion.

It was a trivial incident that revealed to him the possibility of restor-



COMMODORE PERRY MEETING THE JAPANESE COMMISSIONERS.

[March 8, 1854.]

ing the rostrum to the ship's prow and reproducing the old trireme's chief weapon in modern warfare. While on her way to Sandy Hook, in New York Bay, the *Fulton* came into glancing collision with a schooner. The tremendous damage done by accident at an angle, suggested what might be accomplished by a blow amidships under a full head of steam, were the prow of a war steamer armed with an iron beak. After an inquiry into the responsibility of the accident, Perry set himself to work to demonstrate mathematically the force of impact possessed by a steam ram. He forwarded his suggestion in a paper to the department. It was pigeon-holed, and it was forgotten that an American officer ever suggested it. Yet this was twenty-five years before *La Gloire* was launched. He

also studied the laws of the tides and the best methods of scientific light-houses, and in 1839 was sent on a special mission to Europe to examine into steam tactics, gunnery, lights, reflectors, and steam appliances. In England he met Lady Franklin, and, in France, Fresnel and Louis Philippe. On his return, at Perry's suggestion, the lights on Navesink Highlands were erected. It is those lights which the traveler last looks upon as he crosses the ocean to Europe.

In the fullest sense of the word, Commodore Perry was an educator of the navy. Whether in Africa, Europe, Japan, or at home, he was a tireless worker, who strove to keep officers and men busy, and up to the highest point of discipline and professional excellence. He spared neither himself nor others, yet was scrupulously just and impartial, ever as careful of the sailor as of the officer. As our own illustrious Admiral David D. Porter, in a private letter to the writer, says: "I consider that Commodore M. C. Perry was one of the first officers we ever had in our navy—far superior to his brother Oliver. He had not much ideality about him, but he had a stolid matter-of-fact way of doing things that pleased me mightily."

From 1840 to 1843, Perry lived at Tarrytown, New York. Building a cottage there, which he fitly named "The Moorings," he, for the first time since childhood, made the close acquaintance of Mother Earth, and reveled in the bucolic enjoyments of raising vegetables. Washington Irving was his neighbor and life-long friend. Coming to Brooklyn daily, being then in command of the Navy Yard, he was actively interested in the details of construction of the splendid steam-frigates *Mississippi* and *Missouri*, and perfecting the steam service both as to men and material. How necessary this was, is seen in the fact that in the Mexican campaign steamers were used in war for the first time, when, too, but very few officers, and Perry *facile princeps*, were able to command them. The average naval officer of that day must of necessity be dependent wholly on his engineer, and usually was even more concerned about his boilers and steam gauge than about his enemy's batteries.

In 1843 the Ashburton treaty was negotiated, by which England and the United States bound themselves to mutually assist in the extirpation of the African slave trade. Perry was appointed to command the one-hundred-gun fleet which, under the American flag, was to assist in rubbing out "the sum of all villainies." At this time the "Broad-pennant," which figures so prominently in the literature of the time, was the insignia of a commodore's presence on the flag-ship of a squadron. A commodore then was only a captain with honors, though now, and since 1862, the rank is

recognized with emolument, as between captain and rear-admiral. Perry's broad pennant was hoisted on the *Macedonian*, a superb and oft-captured ship, which sailed equally well under French, British and American colors. For three years on the African coast Perry acted the part of "a great missionary and civilizer." On one occasion at a parley with King Crack-O, the dusky chief attempting treachery seized the burly commodore, and attempted to drag him off and dispatch him with his ponderous iron spear. The bullet of a sergeant of marines saved the officer, and an economical use of powder and ball from the sailors made the coast safe for a thousand miles. With tireless energy our missionaries and teachers were protected,

*Done at Kanagawa this thirty first
day of March in the Year of our Lord
Jesus Christ, One thousand eight hundred
and fifty four, and of Meiji, the Seventh
Year, third month and Third-day.*



[THE LAST CLAUSE OF THE FIRST JAPANESE TREATY, WITH SIGNATURE, TRACED FROM THE ORIGINAL TREATY
IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AT WASHINGTON.

and the Portuguese and other foreign slave-peddlers were ferreted out, and the world's stock of villainy considerably reduced. The ocean slave trade as an institution soon ceased to exist.

Scarcely had the broad pennant of the commodore been lowered at Brooklyn again, than the Mexican War broke out, and in response to his eager offer to enter active service, Perry was ordered to the Gulf. The squadron was divided into two divisions of steam and sail vessels, and Perry was ordered to command those that carried their motor within them. No sooner was the name of Matthew Calbraith Perry announced as leader than the young officers, especially the graduates of the School of Gunnery, were aflame with desire to serve under him. To reach his post, Perry took outside quarters on the *Vixen*, and not long after his arrival, Commodore Connor retiring, he was given command of the largest squadron which up to this

time had ever assembled under the American flag. General Scott's army had been disembarked by Commodore Connor in magnificent style at Vera Cruz without the loss of a man, and the circumvallation and siege of the city—the key to the conquest of the whole country—had begun. But the army had nothing but a few light cannon and mortars. These killed numerous women and children, spoiled the house and church roofs and made promenading in the city disagreeable, while the fighting men were safe and walls remained intact. With provisions, Vera Cruz might have held out for six months. One benefit of a navy is that it is a permanent fortification, constantly ready, and yet its heavy batteries are movable. Little as he liked, much as he disliked, Winfield Scott—a great man in great things, a little man in little things—made request of the commodore for a set of heavy navy guns to breach the walls, proposing, however, to man them with his own artillerists, that the army might win all the glory. Would the commander of the naval forces grant the general of the army's request? The reply of Perry was characteristic, "Certainly, general, but I must fight them." Scott had to yield the point, and Perry at once rowed in person under the stern of each of the ships, announcing that the navy should take part in the siege. The naval battery was built and the heaviest and most efficient artillery then known in warfare was set at 800 yards from the walls. The guns had to be dragged through the sand three miles, and the engineer of the redoubt was Robert E. Lee. The naval captains in command day by day were Aulick and Mayo, and among the officers were Raphael Semmes, Alex. Slidell Mackenzie, and many others who have since made their mark. The chaparral was cleared away and the battery unmasked and set in activity. The accuracy, rapidity and force of the firing were astonishing, and exceeded even the anticipations of the naval officers themselves. It may be safely said that the naval battery at Vera Cruz attained the highest point of excellence in gunnery which up to that date had ever been reached. In spite of the concentrated fire of the city forts and the castle of St. Juan de Ulloa, the Mexican walls were within thirty-six hours, first pierced like a colander, and then breached to the width of a hay-wagon. Every Mexican gun within range was silenced, and the way opened for the army to enter. Most of the blood spilled and lives lost on our side were inside the naval battery. It was proposed to form a storming party, and the sailors and marines were to form the forlorn hope. But the enemy cried "hold, enough." The white flag entered the American camp, and the city surrendered. With only the army mortars and field guns, the city might have held out for six months, or at least till the *vomito* and the *norther*, yellow fever and storms, had done their work.

The heavy ordnance from the ships settled the question in two days, broke the seals from the road to the capital, and held the coast, while the army moved to the salubrious highlands.

Here let us pause—we unmilitary folks who know how history is sometimes written, but who cannot always get at the truth, because it lies so deep down in the well, and the surface waters cover it—and let us see how the naval history of the Mexican war has been thus far treated. Read the contemporary newspapers, and you will find the praises of our army in Mexico sounded without stint, while the navy receives chiefly sneers and editorial castigation. Consult the average popular histories—and I have looked into dozens—and you wonder whether we had any navy at this time. Read—and this is the worst—even Winfield Scott's official report. Hear him while he blows the Triton's horn for his soldiers—and forgets not the "*magna pars fui*" for himself. The sole reference in a voluminous report to the navy's assistance is limited to an ambiguous line or two—"the able co-operation of the United States squadron successively under the command of Commodores Connor and Perry." And mark again how a great man can be little where you expect him to be great. In his autobiography he neither once refers to the naval battery, nor mentions the name of Commodore Perry. Further, on the inscriptions on the trophies of Vera Cruz placed by him in the Museum at West Point no mention of Perry's work was made. The navy was again utterly ignored, and only on the remonstrance of the naval chief was justice partially done, and the inscription enlarged to include both arms of the service.

Well may we declare that the naval history of that war has not been written. Yet Vera Cruz does not end the record of what our sailors accomplished. Laguna, Tobasco, and Tuspan were attacked and captured



THE FOUR JAPANESE SIGNATURES TO THE FIRST JAPANESE TREATY, FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

HAYASHI-DAIGAKU-NOKAMI.

IDO, PRINCE OF TSUS-SIMA.

IZAWA, PRINCE OF MIMASAKI.

UDONO, MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF REVENUE.

by Commodore Perry, who led his men in person. Whether on the quarter-deck or in the face of the rifle-fire from chaparral, or among the whizzing balls from the batteries, he showed the same personal courage which marks all the Perrys from the Quaker to the Congressman. In addition to his warlike exploits, he administered the ports, policed the coast, examined the isthmus of Tehuantepec for the trans-continental canal of the future, and secured the sea-board provinces so perfectly, that Scott's inland campaign was made a success. Understanding the art of hygiene as thoroughly as that of manœuvring a fleet, he saved his command from the scourge of yellow fever, so that comparatively few filled those "hospitable graves" to which they were invited both in congressional rhetoric and by the copper bullets of the Mexicans.

No sooner was the commodore at home, than the vexed question of the Canadian fisheries loomed up, and he was sent by President Fillmore into the North Atlantic to adjust the question. A collision was avoided, there was no war with England, and the way was paved for that final arbitration which has been the triumph of our day, whether in the sum we first gained or secondly lost. At his home in Tarrytown he now began to study the question of opening Japan. He imported books and charts from Europe; for the country which is now our nearest western neighbor was then little more to us than a name. On account of preoccupation in this new enterprise, he declined the presidency of the Light House Board, the pioneer of whose organization he had been. As the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, was busy with other matters, and seemed to delay instructions to the commodore—since the delicate business of opening a jealous and secluded nation had no precedent in American diplomacy—Perry wrote them himself. He forwarded them to the Secretary of State, and they were approved, almost without an erasure or interlineation. Thus armed, Perry went forth like the fair prince to open the barred castle of Thornrose. It was with a kiss, and not with a blow, that the sleeping maiden of the Eastern sea was won. Perry could strike from the shoulder, his guns were the guns of Vera Cruz, and his Paixhan shells could have laid Yedo in ashes in half a day; but he chose rather to out-Chesterfield these Oriental Chesterfields in the minuteness, severity and suavity of his etiquette. With time, with patience, with firmness, with delicacy equal to that demanded in a first-class flirtation, with sublime attention to details, with a terrible earnestness that brooked no trifling, Perry succeeded. Thornrose awoke, her warders drew back the bolts, and opened the doors. Where before we felt the thorn we now possess the rose. Into the minutiae of that diplomatic victory we do not propose to enter. The story is known to the world. It is

not one of those personal triumphs that shrivel into insignificance when critically examined. Rather does fresh research but enhance the splendor of the victory.

The sailor-diplomat on his return, now became author, and in his office at Washington, with a secretary, a couple of his faithful officers, and a Japanese servant, the big book of the Narrative of the Japan Expedition grew into form. Dr. Robert Toombs compiled an introductory chapter, the Rev. Dr. Francis Hawks wrote a preface, the brothers Evert and George Duyckinck furnished the index; maps, scientific papers, and surveys by naval officers, and letter-press descriptions for the plates by experts, were contributed; but the text of the narrative was from Perry's own hand and brain. Accustomed to the constant perusal and



OBVERSE OF GOLD MEDAL FROM THE MERCHANTS OF BOSTON.

copying for practice of the English classics, the commodore was already master of a terse, graphic English style, while his book is all the better history because it is the autograph story of an eyewitness. It is written in the third person.

The printing of the work illustrates the methods of our Government publishing house. The work cost \$360,000, and 18,000 copies were printed, an extra set of 200, with special illustrations, being sent to the governments of the world. 15,000



REVERSE OF GOLD MEDAL.

copies were ordered by Congress for members, each receiving 50 sets of the work, 3,000 copies were allowed to the officers of the squadron, of which Perry received 1,000. He presented 500 copies to Dr. Hawks, chiefly for putting his name to the work and writing the preface; so that all the extra pay, bounty, reward, or pension the commodore received from a grateful country for his triumph was 500 copies of his own book. When he died, his widow was most reluctantly accorded a niggardly pension, while neither officers nor crew received an extra dollar for the service which had so raised our national prestige in the eyes of the world. Compare with this the medals, orations, gifts, pensions and honors, both popular and official, granted to Oliver Hazard Perry and to many other naval officers, and one may well wonder whether we are a warlike or a peaceful people. Perhaps we lack the capacity of perception, or are economical in the wrong way.

The last public service performed by Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry was as a member of the Naval Retiring Board. He was to have been given command of the European squadron, but after a short sickness, he died in New York, March 4, 1858. At his funeral services his own sailors and marines attended in a body, and the simple fife and drum music seemed to the listeners and spectators profoundly impressive from its very simplicity. He lies buried at Newport, beside the dust of that mother on whose bosom he first learned the worth of life, whose memory he worshipped through all his career, and beside whose relics he wished to sleep in death. Loving hands have erected a fitting memorial in marble over his grave.

His lineaments and form are preserved to us in an excellent marble bust by Palmer, of Albany, now in possession of Mrs. August Belmont, his daughter. A bronze statue, heroic size, on a granite pedestal adorned with bronze bas-reliefs, representing experiences in Africa, Mexico and Japan, by J. Q. A. Ward, stands in Touro Park, Newport. It was erected by Mr. Belmont, and unveiled October 1, 1868. In the Brooklyn Naval Lyceum, and in the library of the Annapolis Naval Academy, hang oil portraits, and his features are also represented on the gold medal struck by the merchants of Boston to commemorate the opening of Japan. In the Mikado's Empire the name of Perry is ever mentioned with honor, and a short time ago the Japanese merchants of Yokohama, entirely of their own accord, gave a banquet to celebrate the signing of Perry's treaty, in which speeches in their own language set forth at length the benefits which their country had received by Perry's visits.

Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry was indeed a typical American

naval officer, a link between the old and the new, the present and the past. Had he lived until the outbreak of the rebellion, he would undoubtedly have won further distinction; for he was a man of advanced ideas, ever ready for the new and inevitable. As it was, few American citizens in any arm of the public service, military, naval, or diplomatic, have done more for the lasting good of their country. Nor have the fruits of his life ceased since his death, either in war or peace. When the *Alabama* sank from the sight of the sun with her wandering stars and the bars of slavery after her into the ocean's grave, the guns that sent her down were directed by Thornton, the efficient executive officer of the *Kearsarge*, and the favorite pupil of Commodore Perry; while thirty years of peaceful national progress in Japan testify that the victories of peace are none the less renowned than those of war.

Mr. Elliot Griffis.

THE HEART OF LOUISIANA

THE PLACE D'ARMES IN HISTORY

When Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, French Governor of Louisiana, sent his engineer to the site of the present city of New Orleans in the year 1720, to map out the plan of the contemplated capital of the Province, the engineer, drawing his lines in the shape of a parallelogram extending four hundred feet along the river, and eighteen hundred feet toward the rear, inclosed within the limits of the future city a few shabby soldiers huts and Government warehouses erected two years before.* This was the beginning of New Orleans.

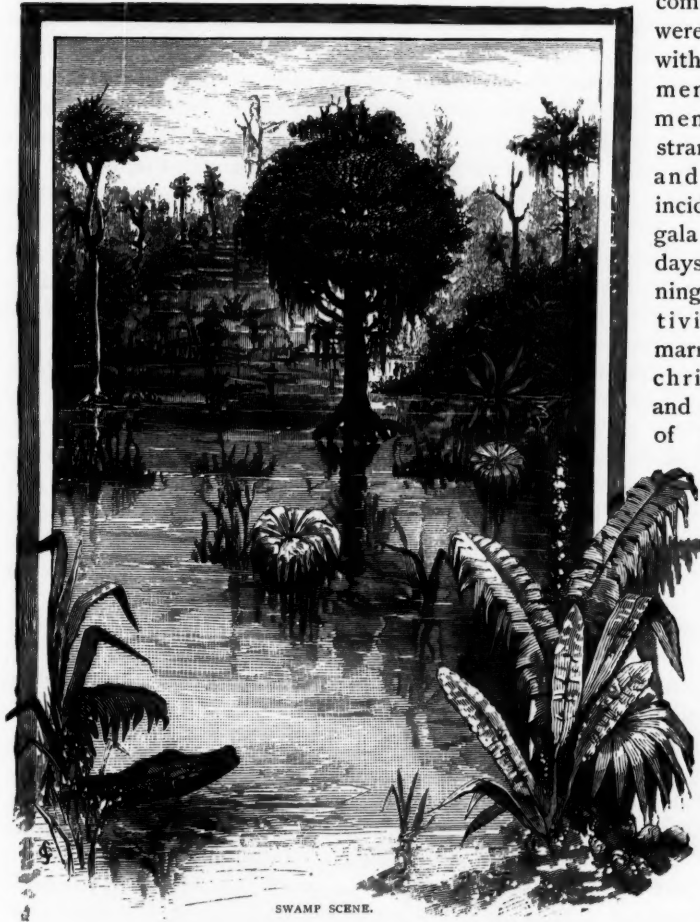
The engineer's task was not a pleasant one. The ground was swampy and overgrown with a rank semi-tropical vegetation. Here and there a small bayou wound its way through thickets of willow copses, latanier, tall reeds and grasses, low palmetto trees, cypresses moss-draped, and creeping vines. His feet, and those of his assistants, sank at almost every step in the ooze, or were immersed in the waters of dark pools. But after a while, when the task was completed, and the stakes planted, imaginary streets were marked out in the parallelogram around which were driven palisades as a measure of defense, ditches being dug to receive the rains and the superabundant water of the earth. Of the section of swamp thus reclaimed, one square fronting immediately on the river and situated in the exact center of the length of the parallelogram, was reserved for the service of the State. It was intended for a parade and review ground, and its destiny was to become, in time, the Place d'Armes of the French, the Plaza de Armas of the Spaniards, and the Jackson Square of the Americans. Even in that first hour of its existence it constituted, what it has continued to be to our day, the "Heart of Louisiana." That this square should have been made the center of the frontage of the city's plan was due to the circumstance that, when the engineer began his task of survey he found on the site of the present Cathedral of St. Louis, just behind the locality selected for the Place d'Armes, a rude building, little more than a shed, which had been constructed hastily by the first settlers in 1718, as a place for religious worship. This section of a square was therefore reserved, at the same time, for the necessities of the Church, where it was decided to build

* Bienville was the son of Charles Le Moyne, and the third of four brothers—Iberville, Sauvolle, Bienville and Châteaugay—all of whom played important parts in the history of Louisiana. See Frontispiece.

the parish church, with other religious establishments, convents, etc. Therefore, Bienville's engineer drew the outlines of the future city around the primitive church-building, and the marshy open space, which in the

coming years were to teem with so many memories—memories of strange, sad and joyous incidents, of gala days and days of mourning, of festivities and marriages and christenings and funerals; of the pa-

geant-ry and alarms of war, and of the gradual unfolding, within a single century of time, of the civil authority of four domi-



SWAMP SCENE.

nations, which successively reared, above the spot from which the musing and worshipping Indian once had contemplated the swift flow of his great Meschacébé, the golden lilies of France, the castellated flag of Spain, the Stars and Stripes of the United States and the Stars and Bars of the Confederate States.

Around the Place d'Armes in those days of the city's youth, gathered that singular mosaic of humanity whose presence marked the first years of Europeanized Louisiana, where, as it were in a sort of *villegiatura*, and as if suddenly dropped from the clouds, Bienville and his officers of the Infantry of the Marine, cadets, most of them, of noble families of France, alternated their time in combating reptiles and the insects of the locality, and discussing the freshest *chroniques scandaleuses* of Versailles—the latest eccentricity of Monsieur the Regent, the last adventure of Mme. la Duchesse or of Mademoiselle, his daughters, the newest conquest of Richelieu, brought to them by the most recent arrival from the port of Orient in France.

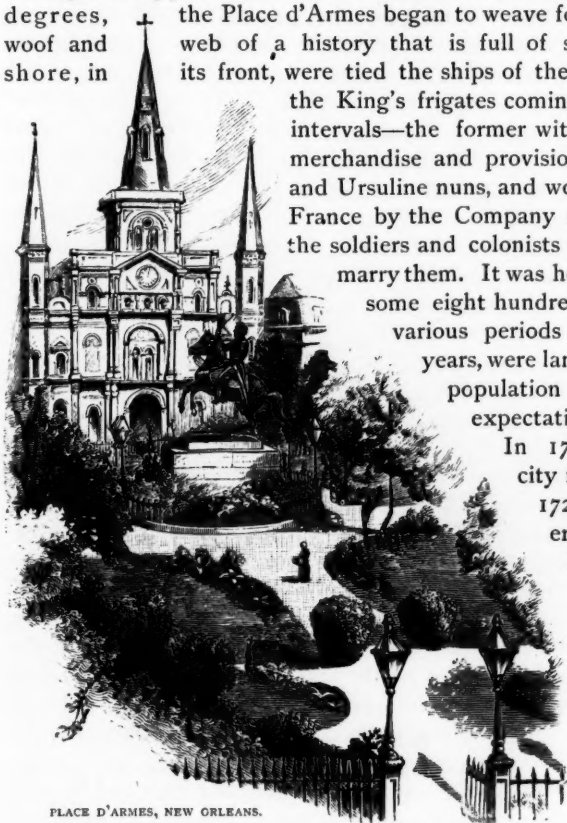
Though the Place d'Armes (for in this sketch of its associations I shall give it its French Colonial name) be the heart of the ancient city, it is a quiet spot, lying in quiet precincts, measurably apart from the ebb and flow of the city's newer and busier life. An iron railing incloses it; at its back, overlooking it, is the Cathedral, with the old Cabildo, and its sister structure, of Spanish days, flanking it on either side. The streets on its northern and southern sides are occupied by rows of massively built brick houses—the one row a counterpart of the other—erected many years ago by the owner of the property, the Baronne de Pontalba, who was the daughter and heiress of the former proprietor, Don Andres Almonaster, a Spaniard and resident of the city in the last century. Its serpentine and circular walks, amply furnished with iron benches, are covered with broken shells of the mussel species; along its four sides grow the wild orange-trees of Louisiana, their branches heavy, under the balmy February sun, with their fruit of tawny gold, while other tropical trees—the lemon, the fig, the palmetto and the banana—cast their shade on the greensward or blend it with that of evergreens of dense foliage cut into rounded tops. In parterres, symmetrically arranged, flowers and shrubbery and rare plants beautify the spot; and in the center of the Place, with an oblong railing surrounding it, rises an equestrian statue, done in bronze, of Andrew Jackson, the man whose memory New Orleans delights to honor.

Once the Place d'Armes looked out freely on the bosom of the river, with its shipping; but of late years a railroad shed has intervened to obstruct the view. The lounge or the wayfarer passes through the Place from the Rue de Chartres, in the direction of "down-town," to the first of the three or four structures fronting the levee, which constitute the old French Market, famous among the city's antiquities. It was to the site of these rambling markets, built on massive pillars, that one hundred and sixty years ago John Law's Germans were accustomed to come, floating down the river in their pirogues, on the Friday evenings of each week, from their

vegetable farms, a score or so of miles above the city, bringing with them vegetables, fruit, poultry and eggs, which they sold to the citizens, then perhaps three or four hundred in number; and since that early day, remote in the history of New Orleans, the ground has been occupied by the markets. As the years elapsed; as the settlement passed from its stage of hamlet to the dignity of a town, the water-mocassin was gradually banished from the square to take up its abode in company with malefactors and fugitives from the municipal laws, in the tangled wilderness of weeds and grasses in the almost houseless streets, and the deep-throated bull-frog—the noisy *ouararang* of Louisiana swamps—was expelled from his embarrassing lurking-place under the windows of the little church. Then, by degrees, the Place d'Armes began to weave for itself the checkered web of a history that is full of surprises. Along the shore, in its front, were tied the ships of the India Company, and

the King's frigates coming from the Orient at intervals—the former with their freightage of merchandise and provisions, with missionaries and Ursuline nuns, and women dispatched from France by the Company as wives for those of the soldiers and colonists who might choose to marry them. It was here that these women, some eight hundred or more, arriving at various periods during six or eight years, were landed, with all the male population waiting on tiptoe of expectation to receive them.

In 1730, along the entire city front a levee (built in 1727 by Perier, the Governor) protected the Place and the town from the annual overflows of the river. A carpeting of grass covered the Place, and in the inclosure, as in a new *Campus Martius*, the troops were drilled or passed in



PLACE D'ARMES, NEW ORLEANS.

review on gala days. When the Natchez Indians, protesting against the insolence of the French commandant of the post, fell upon the officers and garrison of Fort Rosalie, slaying them and hundreds of Frenchmen, with their families and slaves, the news was brought to New Orleans in hot haste by a terrified survivor. Then, fearful of a general conspiracy and of the total destruction of the European population by the allied Indian nations of Louisiana, Perier called the city and the neighboring plantations, up and down the coast, to arms. In the Place d'Armes that day were throbbing hearts and pallid cheeks, the beat of drums, the tread of soldiers, the lamentations of a people. Muskets and ammunition were distributed among the planters and citizens wherewith to defend themselves from the anticipated attack, and from the Place all men capable of bearing arms were marched to the ramparts. But the shadow of danger passed away, the cloud of apprehension was dispelled; and the last scene of the Massacre of Saint André was enacted in the Place when, some months after the event, the population of the city and the convent of the Ursuline nuns received to their care and hospitality the French women and orphans who had survived the slaughter and subsequently had been surrendered to the authorities by the Natchez. Then the Place d'Armes resumed its old peaceful condition, broken only, as year was joined to year, by the bustle of the parade; the sighs of funeral trains; the whispered vows of lovers; the laughter and talk of the *promenade*; the joyous shouts of children; the chanting of religious processions which found their beginning and their ending in the church opposite; the groans of malefactors condemned to be broken on the wheel or to be sawed to death inclosed between two planks, or of martyrs to principle shot to appease the vengeance of a military tyrant.

Chief of all the tragedies which the Place d'Armes witnessed in those years when men expiated there their crimes or fell beneath the blow of political or military wrath, was the execution of five gallant and country-loving Creoles for the offense of having endeavored to array their fellow-citizens against what they deemed the tyranny of the Spanish Governor, Ulloa, whom they expelled from the city. It was on the 26th of October, 1769, a date memorable in the history of the Colony, that the soil of the Place d'Armes absorbed the blood of these patriots who had proclaimed the "atrocious doctrines," as O'Reilly claimed them to be, that "Liberty is the mother of commerce and population; without liberty there are but few virtues."

Count don Alexander O'Reilly was a man of blended Irish and Spanish blood. He was sent by Spain, when Ulloa was compelled to leave the

city, and it was from the Place d'Armes, where everything began and ended, that he took his departure, as the executor of her vengeance. He



REAR OF ST. LOUIS CATHEDRAL.

came to the recalcitrant French city with twenty-four ships containing twenty-six hundred Spanish soldiers, landing in front of the Place d'Armes on the 18th of August. On the side of the square nearest the church, the

French troops were drawn up, Aubry, the representative of France, at their head, and surrounding the Square, in the streets, at windows, and on housetops, were the people, looking on in silence, agitated by conflicting feelings of doubt, fear and suspense. With the new Governor came a glittering following of officers, and after them the shining array of Spanish infantry and artillery, whose massed ranks filled up the three other sides of the inclosure. The solemnity and importance of the occasion was emphasized by the discharge of musketry and of cannon, to which the cannon on the ships answered. In response to Aubry's address of welcome, O'Reilly made a fair reply; the tiger's claw was still concealed in its velvet sheath. The gala was then transferred to the church, where was sung the *Te Deum* amid imposing religious ceremonies. Two months from that day the vengeance that O'Reilly had come to inflict was executed. Again was the Place d'Armes invaded by a throng of soldiers and citizens. O'Reilly had straightened out the tangles, and five of the citizens who had organized the opposition to Spanish rule were now led out to die. Amid profound silence, the books and documents relating to the movement were burnt; amid tears and suppressed utterances the public crier went the round of the Square proclaiming the following decree: "Whereas Nicholas Chauvin de Lafrénière, Pierre Marquis, Joseph Millet, Jean Baptiste de Noyan and Pierre Caresse have been found guilty; they are ordered to be shot for high treason committed against his Most Catholic Majesty the King of Spain." A grenadier advanced to bind the eyes of the condemned men. Lafrénière put him aside with his hand, rejecting the proffered mercy. The crier came forward and announced that General O'Reilly spared M. de Noyan in consideration of his youth; but M. de Noyan declared that as he had fought with his friends so would he die with them. Then an officer gave the order to a platoon of dragoons to fire, and with the execution of this order the tragedy was over.

Thirty-three years later the Place d'Armes was the scene of the most important events in its history. Spain transferred Louisiana to France on the 1st of October, 1800. Three years elapsed, however, before France took even the preliminary steps to reclaim her old colony. In the year 1803, while Laussat, the French Colonial Prefect, was waiting in New Orleans for the arrival of General Victor, with troops, to take possession in the name of France, news reached him that Louisiana had been ceded to the United States by Napoleon Bonaparte. The treaty by which this cession was accomplished was signed at Paris on April 30, 1803. "This accession of territory," remarked Napoleon, "strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will, sooner or later, humble her pride."

It was on the 20th of December of the same year, finally, that the ceremony of surrendering the keys of the city by Laussat to the American Commissioners took place in the Place d'Armes. It was a day of parade, of public curiosity, of military display; for in those days the fife and drum and the uniform of the soldier still figured in all great occasions. The flags of the United States, France and Spain all waved, and the troops of the three Powers, together with the militia grenadiers of the city, gazed at each other from opposite sides of the Square. On the streets outside, the inhabitants stood looking on in sullen or indifferent silence. Only when the French tricolor, floating from the pole in the center of the Place, was hauled down and the American flag was raised in its stead, was any emotion manifested; for then a few Americans, who stood together in a group, waved their hats patriotically and mingled their cheers with the salvos of artillery from the forts (for New Orleans was yet a fortified city with forts and ramparts) and from the men-of-war in the river. Before the set of sun the posts and guard-houses were vacated by the local militia and the American troops took possession. This was indeed the red-letter day of the old Place, for on that day of brightness and sunshine closed the thirty-four years of Spanish rule, the twenty days of temporary domination of France, and above the "Heart of Louisiana" waved the flag of Freedom, which had come into its own at last.

But though this 20th of December, 1803, was the *beau jour* of all the *beaux jours* of the Place d'Armes, the spot which already was so replete with memories and associations of more than passing moment was to witness other historical scenes. Of these were the spectacle of the marching away of regiments and battalions, eleven years later, to the field of Chalmette, where was achieved the almost bloodless victory of General Jackson over Pakenham; the home-returning of the victorious soldiers from that battle-ground, won in the cause of liberty; of the honors paid therein to the great Captain who, when the triumph over the invading British was accomplished, standing in the presence of the city's grateful population, gathered there to do honor to the man whose skill and courage had made the cry of "Beauty and booty" an idle threat, was crowned with laurels and covered with roses, cast upon his head and thrown before him as he walked, by the fair hands of fair women. With this ceremony the old heroic past of the Place d'Armes may be said to end; with this tribute to Jackson the curtain that separates its ancient romance from its modern associations fell, never to be lifted again. Through that curtain, as through a mist, we see to the remote days of the Colony. O'Reilly blends in the long vista with Vaudreuil, whom his flatterers and sycophants named "the

Great Marquis," and of whom history affirms that he possessed an excellent cook. Vaudreuil in turn stands like a silhouette, but partially concealing the figure of Bienville, who, rising a colossal actor in the drama of Louisiana's past, almost obscures Iberville. And then, beyond Iberville, the mental vision rests upon the first and the last of the line—La Salle, man of sad destiny, shadowy, lost in the forests of Texas, and falling in the dawn of Colonial days at the hands of traitors and assassins. Here, perforce, our contemplation must pause; for in the historical gloom that lies farther away comes no voice of bard or prophet to teach us of the passing away of the unrecorded generations of men who lived and died in old Louisiana.

And now let us look beyond the railings of the Place d'Armes upon its accessories of Cathedral, of Cabildo and of arcaded houses that inclose it on three of its sides. We saw how, in the city's first years, a shed, called a chapel, occupied the site of the Cathedral. In the year 1723 a hurricane blew down the building and many houses of the town, and the shabby nondescript, which once had served for a storehouse, was replaced in 1725 with a brick church. For more than sixty years this church survived, the only place of worship in the city. Within its walls for that long period were celebrated the weddings, the christenings, and the funerals of the citizens. In the year 1788 a great conflagration swept over New Orleans and the church was destroyed. It was succeeded by the Cathedral of St. Louis, begun in 1792 and completed in 1794. About the same time were erected the two remarkable buildings situated to the right and the left of the Cathedral, and which seem a fitting frame for that venerable pile. They are all gray together—as gray as *palacios* of Fontarabia—and together, with their arches and their arcaded walks, they give to the west side of the Place a picturesque air of a section of the *piazza* of St. Mark. Of these edifices, one was during Spanish days the Cabildo, where sat the Superior Council of the Colony. The other was built for a presbytery. They both have figured largely in the story of life and incident which for the past eighty or ninety years has illustrated the fortunes of the Place d'Armes.

Charles Drimits.

[For two of the illustrations to this article—the Swamp Scene and the Rear of Cathedral—the Magazine is indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Will H. Coleman, publisher of the Historical Sketch Book of New Orleans.—EDITOR.]

THE FALLACY OF 1776

In the later half of the eighteenth century, two classes of colonies were connected with Great Britain. Colonies by conquest, as Jamaica and Canada; colonies by settlement, as those which became the United States. The political relation of the former was settled by the common consent of mankind and the usage of ages; that of the latter had not been so defined, no colonies under similar conditions having ever before existed. The ties between the mother country and those colonies were many and strong. A common ancestry, a common language, a common religion, common political traditions, common pride of race, and a common share in the memories of the past, the objects of the present, and the hopes of the future. As in all political connections between a stronger and a weaker, there had been some lack of equity, but none sufficient to shake the loyalty of the colonists to the crown, or to weaken their affection for the English People. That condition of things might have remained unchanged for many years. It could not if either side chose to draw a line and so force an issue. Neighbors with adjacent open land may be careless of metes and bounds, and indulgent to occasional apparent trespass, but if one begins to run a fence the other turns to his title-deeds. England, as the stronger always will, drew the line and forced the issue. The colonies accepted the contest. The question was single and simple, wrong must have been wholly on one side or the other. Walpole, upon a suggestion to tax the colonies, replied, "Who does must be a bolder man than I, and less a friend to the British Constitution." The bolder man appeared and taxation was attempted. It was not heavy; its returns would not have paid the cost of an army for a week. The colonists had before contributed free-will offerings when the equity of such contributions was manifest; they were ready to do so again. Willing to give, they denied the right of England to take upon the question of rights; it seemed to them, as it undoubtedly is, more wise, and equally safe, to fight upon the first aggression. Submission makes a precedent for future encroachment. The debate which preceded the armed conflict, so far from convincing either, confirmed both in their convictions. This was inevitable, for their premises differed, and reasoning from them developed conclusions so startling and repugnant that one of the disputants must yield, or be made to. The irreconcilable discord between those premises deserves to be carefully

examined and fully appreciated, as it not only accounts for the collision between Great Britain and the colonies, but explains the political history of the latter after they became the United States. From the contracts of their ancestors the colonists deduced the rights they claimed. After the battle of Hastings, William of Normandy was master of England. Part of its territory he divided among his men at arms, to be held upon feudal tenures; part he took for the crown, the rest he allowed to the conquered. The feudal system was a system of contract. If the feudal tenant performed his part of the contract he had discharged all duty, and if the overlord tried to get more he might be legally resisted. Any contest which ensued was held to be legitimate war. After the Great Charter and its numerous confirmations all free subjects were entitled to perfect personal security and the complete enjoyment of property. If the king wanted aid he asked for it. His subjects sent delegates to confer with him, they usually granted, but they might legally refuse. "If the king stepped over the constitutional line they claimed the right to step over it themselves, and, that failing, promptly armed and appealed to the God of Battles." Subject to those limitations the king certainly, as to all external matters, was the government of England. Title to land in America was in him. He dealt with it as he pleased. To have value it must be peopled. Therefore he gave tracts to emigrants upon a tenure and rental, together with charters creating them bodies politic and corporate, and assuring to them the rights and privileges of Englishmen. The transaction was wholly between the King and the emigrants. England as a nation did not furnish a penny or a man. The immigrants were to form communities of which the King of England was to be king, and the relation between him and those subjects was easily and clearly defined. Whatever rights and privileges his English subjects then had, or should thereafter have, his American subjects should have also. The bargain was one of reciprocal advantages, a consideration passing on both sides. All political systems in the United States start from contract as a basis; all political systems in Europe start from conquest as a basis. This difference explains why foreigners so constantly misjudge our political action. Even intelligent Englishmen professing admiration of our institutions, in reasoning upon them, sometimes fail to remember the distinction between governments originated by contract and governments originated by force. Under those charters the colonists had organized society. The colonies all had a legislature and a judiciary of their choice, and an executive, the king. They had warred with enslaved or exterminated native tribes, had coined money, issued paper money, pledged public credit, raised and employed forces for land and sea service,

persecuted dissidents, and hanged Quakers and witches. The conclusion they drew, when forced to a logical conclusion, was that they were nations as distinct from and bearing the same relation to England as Scotland before the Union, or Hanover at that time—subjects of the king but not subjects of his subjects. They did not press this argument until their lower claim of immunity from taxation under their charter contract was denied. Their hearts yearned for the old friendly relations, but if they were to be accounted inferiors, even disastrous war could not aggravate their servitude, and must leave them their self-respect. The English argument is nowhere so clearly stated and so closely reasoned as in the "Taxation no Tyranny." The premises of that very able paper are these: Land in the colonies is legally the territory of England, the colonists are units of the English nation, Parliament is their Parliament, in which they are virtually represented just as the much greater number of Englishmen who have no votes are virtually represented, therefore that Parliament confessedly, if it has any authority, supreme, may legally alter or repeal any charter and impose any law or duty. England, from the nature of things, the stronger in numbers and wealth, as the preponderant element in the nation ought to be what she is, the superior, and the colonies ought to be what they are not, obedient. If the premises were true, the conclusions were correct, and the Americans must have been what they seemed to be to Johnson, and to at least three-fourths of his countrymen, mean from avarice and malignant from obstinacy. But the premises were utterly baseless. A nation is a fact not a phrase. The word has but one meaning, has never had but one meaning, and as the human mind is constituted can have no other. A nation is an aggregation of human beings inhabiting a defined portion of the earth, coalesced by consent or compacted by conquest into a general co-partnership having for each other feelings very different from those they entertain toward the rest of mankind, extending among themselves sympathy and distributing selfishness. In such a community there is one sovereignty, Force, whether that resides in the few or in the many, and one standard of right and wrong, its Will.

"In sovereignty there are no gradations. There must be in every society some power from which there is no appeal, which admits no restrictions, which pervades the whole mass of the community, regulates and adjusts all subordination, enacts laws and repeals them, erects or annuls judicatures, extends or controls privileges, exempt itself from question or control, and bounded only by physical necessity. By this power, wherever it subsists, all legislation is animated and controlled. From this all legal rights are emanations, which, whether equitably or not, may be legally re-

called. It is not infallible, for it may do wrong, but it is irresistible, for it can only be resisted by rebellion, by an act which makes it questionable what shall thenceforward be the supreme power." This truth, familiar to antiquity, is admitted by men of all shades of opinion from Johnson the Tory to Mill the Radical. It should have been apparent to Johnson, from his own definition of sovereignty, that communities not under one single and exclusive government cannot be a nation. This objection indeed so pressed upon him that he could find no escape but in the assumption that a colony and a county were identical. Sovereignty and government are two different things, though Johnson, as many others before and since, have confounded them. Sovereignty makes and unmakes governments. Within the life of Johnson's father the army which had defeated Charles I. was the force, the sovereign power in England, though it did not represent one-fourth of the opinion of England. It sought to establish a government with Charles as king. Agreement failing, it struck off his head. It sought to make a government through Parliament, but as Parliament wished to dictate terms, it was turned out of doors. The army then set up Oliver Cromwell; it pulled down Richard Cromwell. It ruled England as absolutely as William the Conqueror, until through division it ceased to be the Force, and then it quietly melted away. Government in a nation is a treaty of peace between the stronger and the weaker, with the requisite machinery for maintaining it. Between communities politically connected, no matter how fast or loose the tie, government is a treaty between equals and the machinery for administering its provisions. England, unmindful or unconscious of the distinction, assumed mastery. If the practical wisdom of her greatest minister, or the genius of her greatest philosophical statesman, could have saved her from a silly scheme of discord (as all now see), they were not wanting. Chatham not merely justified the colonists in their refusal to submit to taxation, but in armed resistance to taxation. He reminded the Lords that what is called the British Constitution, is the application in practice of certain principles, of which representation inseparable from taxation is one, and that the colonists had been guaranteed the protection of that principle. He warned them that carelessness of Constitutional restraints would injure England in the future as well as America in the present, and prescient of that future pointed to France and Spain eagerly watching the maturity of error for an opportunity of war. Burke refused to discuss any abstract proposition. He turned to history for the lessons of wisdom, and drew from it his argument for peace.

"The people of the colonies are the descendants of Englishmen.

England is a nation which I hope still respects, and once adored her freedom. The colonists emigrated from you when that part of your character was most predominant, and they took the bias and direction the moment they parted. They are therefore devoted not only to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas, and on English principles. Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found. It inheres in some sensible object, and every nation has formed to itself some favorite point which by way of eminence becomes the criterion of its happiness. The great contests for freedom in this country were from the earliest times chiefly upon the question of taxing. Most of the contests in the ancient commonwealths turned primarily on the right of election of magistrates, or on the balance among the several orders in the State. The question of money was not with them so immediate. But in England it was otherwise. On this point of taxes the ablest pens and most eloquent tongues have been exercised, and the greatest spirits have acted and suffered. In order to give the fullest satisfaction on this point, it was not only necessary for those who in argument defended the excellence of the English Constitution to insist on this privilege of granting money as a dry point of fact, and to prove that the right had been acknowledged in ancient parchments and blind usages to reside in a certain body called a House of Commons. They went much farther; they attempted to prove, and they succeeded, that in theory it ought to be so, from the particular nature of a House of Commons, as the immediate representative of the people, whether the old records had delivered this oracle or not. They took infinite pains to inculcate as a fundamental principle that in all monarchies the people must themselves mediately or immediately possess the power of granting their own money, or no shadow of liberty could exist. The colonists drew from you as with their life-blood these ideas and principles. Their love of liberty, as with you, is fixed and attached on this specific point of taxation. Liberty might be safe or be endangered in twenty other particulars without their being much pleased or alarmed. Here they felt its pulse, and as they found that beat, they thought themselves sick or sound. I do not say whether they were right or wrong in applying your general maxims to their own case. It is not easy, indeed, to make a monopoly of themselves and corollaries. The fact is that they did apply those general arguments, and your mode of governing them—whether through levity or indolence, through wisdom or mistake—confirmed them in the imagination that they, as well as you, had an interest in those common principles." To the claim that the colonists were units of a nation, and that the acknowledgment of their right to keep or give their money would destroy the unity of the

empire, his answer was conclusive, unless words are too elastic a material for the foundation of any belief.

"Perhaps I am mistaken in my idea of an empire as distinguished from a single state or kingdom. An empire is an aggregate of many states under one common head, whether that head be a monarch or a presiding republic. It does in such constitutions frequently happen, and nothing but the dismal, cold, dead, uniformity of servitude can prevent its happening, that the subordinate parts have many local privileges and immunities. Between those privileges and the supreme common authority, the line may be extremely nice. Of course disputes, often, too, very bitter disputes, and much ill blood will arise. Now in such unfortunate quarrels among the component parts of a great political union of communities, I can scarcely conceive anything more completely imprudent than for the head of the empire to insist that if any privilege is pleaded against his will or acts that his whole authority is denied, instantly to proclaim rebellion and to put the offending province to the ban. It is said that the power of granting vested in the American assemblies would dissolve the unity of the empire. I do not know what this unity means, nor has it ever been heard of, that I know, in the constitutional policy of this country. The very idea of subordination of parts excludes the notion of simple and undivided unity. England is the head, but she is not the head and the members too. My hold on the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection. These are the ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government, and they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be understood that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another, that these two things may exist without any mutual relation, the cement is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. Deny them this participation of freedom and you break that sole bond which originally made, and must still preserve the unity of the empire." The resolutions of Burke, framed in the spirit of his speech, were negatived by 270 to 78, and the preponderance of opinion was even greater in the nation than in the house. Possibly in proportion to population, as many Americans thought England in the right, as there were Englishmen who thought her in the wrong. That the Ministry and the English people were insincere and consciously unjust, is far from the truth. The causes of their mistake are apparent. After a series of civil contests and two revolutions, the power of the crown had

passed to the nation, but the old forms were preserved and all service, civil or military, is still Her Majesty's. Whatever right of government the king had over the colonies, had with their full assent passed with the rest of his powers. Great Britain stood in his place. But no more could pass than he had possessed. Power is easily seen; limitation easily overlooked. Had either of the Stuarts attempted such taxation, Englishmen would have seen in that source of strength to the throne, as much danger to themselves as injustice to others. Had George III. claimed it as a right within his prerogative the kingdom would have risen in opposition. But taxation of Americans by Parliament seemed natural and proper to men whom it yearly taxed. The habit of constantly recognizing that authority as supreme by one portion of British subjects made the denial by another portion of British subjects appear not only unequal, but factious. Party spirit aided the delusion. Bitterness, absent from the taxation and tyranny against the colonists, is intense against these English advocates. "Far be it from an Englishman to thirst for the blood of his fellow subjects. Those who most deserve our resentment are unhappily at a less distance. The Americans, when the Stamp Act was first proposed, disliked it undoubtedly, as every nation dislikes an impost, but they had no thought of resisting it, till they were encouraged and incited by European intelligence from men whom they thought their friends, but who were friends only to themselves. On the original contrivers of mischief let an insulted nation pour out its vengeance. With whatever design they have inflamed this pernicious contest, they are themselves equally detestable. If they wish the success of the colonies, they are traitors to this country; if they wish their defeat, they are traitors at once to America and to England. To them and to them only must be imputed the interruption of commerce, and the miseries of war, the sorrow of those that shall be ruined, and the blood of those that fall." All the harm wished to the colonists is, "That those who now bellow as patriots, bluster as soldiers, and domineer as legislators, may sink into sober merchants and silent planters, peaceably, diligent and securely rich." Of all the arguments in Johnson's work this is the most shallow but the most effective. It enlists the pride of courage and the weakness of timidity. In every community he who strives to prove to his country the injustice of a passion and opposes its gratification will be a victim, if it succeeds, and a mourner if it fails. Again, the application of the principle of majorities and minorities, confused the British mind. That upon a controverted constitutional point, three millions should not defer to eight millions, appeared arrogant. They forgot that the principle is only justly applicable, when interests and consequences are iden-

tical, and when otherwise it is mere despotism. To crown all, the very liberality of the colonists told against them. They had given, "given to satiety," and were ready to give again. If they were willing to part with their money, collision upon a form of transfer, seemed not merely the unreasonable but the wickedness of pride. That England was in the wrong is undeniable, but no nation with a desire to be gratified has ever yet been honest enough in its dealings with another to cast the first stone at her. War came of course. Between communities of equal civilization and spirit, the result is a question of resources. "The last louis-d'or wins." England would have subjugated the colonies if France had not from the beginning secretly encouraged and aided them, to become soon an open ally. Then the disparity of force shifted, and England was forced to admit each State to be the independent community which the Declaration of Independence had announced to the world. The fate of that famous paper is singular; for more than fifty years it has been assumed to mean what it does not say, and not to mean what it does say, though there never has been a collection of words of which the intention is more palpable or the expression more clear. Its propositions are four—that men are created free and equal and are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that men to secure those rights, form communities and institute governments; that all just governments are based on the consent of the governed; and that a community may alter its form of government or make a new one. These it terms self-evident. That man in a state of nature may do as he likes and take what he wants, is undeniable, but, as every other man is equally free, the plus one is minus an infinity of plus ones, and men have not got beyond the condition of beasts. When men form into communities they do not, as is commonly and erroneously said, give up anything; they exchange so much responsibility for so much security. Therefore, there must have been an agreement either by consent or assent. Then the first step toward civilization was contract, and every succeeding step will be found to be contract. Genesis is full of contracts. God even is represented as covenanting with man. The third proposition thus becomes self-evident. A just government is independent of form or attributes, or the opinion of any but the governed. It may be a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy; if the governed are satisfied, others cannot object. When the French Assembly announced a propaganda of its faith, Mr. Pitt said to Malet, its secret envoy: "What you Frenchmen do to one another is none of our business, but if you meddle with us, you mean war." That men in the absence of contract, have rights as to other men; that men who had nothing to do with the formation of a community, have the right to become mem-

bers of it, or that one community has the right to sit in judgment upon another community, may now be self-evident truths, but they are not those of the Declaration. The colonists had no quarrel with Great Britain upon the rights of man in the abstract, but upon the rights of contracting man and connected communities. The fourth self-evident proposition, whatever its inherent equity, cannot be self-evident, for the descendants of men who fought seven years to establish it, fought four years to overthrow it. Perhaps it was only self-evident against England, for the difference between your bull goring my ox and my bull goring your ox has not diminished since the days of *Æsop*. The self-evident proposition now is, that communities politically connected, if they cannot agree, must separate peaceably, or fight, and if they fight, that God, as in the old wager of battle, must be assumed to have determined the right by the victory.

Before the Declaration, how far the human mind had been able to settle upon right and wrong was voiced by Hobbes: "The force of words being too weak to hold men to their covenants, there are in human nature but two imaginable helps to it. Either a fear of the consequences of breaking their word, or a glory or pride in appearing not to need to break it. The latter is a generosity too rarely found, to be presumed on, especially in the pursuers of wealth, command, or sensual pleasure, which are the greater part of mankind. But though men be never so willing to observe their covenants, there may questions arise concerning a man's action; first, whether it were done, or not done; secondly, if done, whether against the law or not; the former whereof is called a question of fact, the latter a question of right. Therefore, unless the parties to the question covenant mutually to stand to the sentence of another, they are as far from peace as ever. This other to whose sentence they submit, is called an arbitrator, and therefore it is a law of nature, that they that are at controversy submit their right to the judgment of an arbitrator. And seeing that every man is presumed to do all things in order to his benefit, no man is fit to be an arbitrator in his own cause; and if he were never so fit, yet equity allowing each party equal benefit, if one be admitted to judge, the other is to be admitted also; and so the controversy, that is, the cause of war, remains against the law of nature. For the same reason no man in any cause ought to be admitted for an arbitrator to whom greater profit or honor or pleasure apparently ariseth out of the victory of one party than of the other, for he hath taken, though an unavoidable bribe, yet a bribe, and no man can be obliged to trust him. And thus also the controversy, and the condition of war, remaineth contrary to the law of nature." The colonists went one step farther than Hobbes. They proclaimed that communities being by

received international law equal, in case of controversies which otherwise could only be settled by the sword, any contract between them must be considered canceled, as neither had any more claim to be right than the other, and the strain upon human nature is much greater to submit than not to command. They were compelled to that conclusion by the unbroken experience of the world, that the weak never attack the strong, nor the strong fail to attack the weak. Whatever their course of reasoning, they flattered themselves that they announced a fundamental principle in politics, a safeguard to liberty and a guarantee of peace and good-will among men.

When the States met in convention to amend the articles of Confederation, the mind of the majority of men in all the States not only believed in the "self-evident truths" as an evangel of Liberty and Peace, but also that any unlimited government must sooner or later end in imbecility or blood, in addition that the greatest extent of individualism compatible with order, conduced above all other things to the welfare and elevation of mankind. Their French imitators, on the contrary, held individualism to be the monster evil of society, which must be crushed out, even if to effect that object France was made a grave-yard. It must not be forgotten, however, that there was in all the States a minority, not small in numbers and distinguished by great ability, which did not believe in the governmental practicability of the opinions of the majority. Mason wrote from the Convention, "in which upon pecuniary considerations I would not serve for a thousand pounds a day": "When I first came here, judging from casual conversations with gentlemen from the different States, I was very apprehensive that, soured and disgusted with the unexpected evils we had experienced from the democratical principles of our governments, we should be apt to run into the opposite extreme, and in endeavoring to steer too far from Scylla, we might be drawn into the vortex of Charybdis, of which I still think there is some danger, though I have the pleasure to find in the Convention some men of fine republican principles." It was clear to the delegates that whatever plan they agreed on must be, or seem to be, in accord with the prevailing opinion to be accepted. That which after great care and much compromise they elaborated was simple and in one respect novel. Each State was represented in one branch of the Congress in proportion to population, numbers having thus a fair preponderance. In the other branch the States were equal. An Executive, to some degree a part of the Legislature, was selected by Statehood and numbers combined. Power was limited in the Federal organism by enumeration, in States by denial. The probability of the necessity of future amendment was recognized and provided for, and an arbitrator was supposed to have been

created. The working force of the Federal machine, being suffrage with duties and rights reciprocal throughout the Union, every State and every citizen had an equal ration of liberty and an equal ration of authority. If the "self-evident truths" of the Declaration were the recognized fundamental international law between the States, the one thing no man could deny in practice, even if he doubted their wisdom in theory, the basis of political morality to which the conscience of Americans instantly on appeal would respond, then the Constitution was indeed the best Federal Government ever formed, and the best government that ever existed. If otherwise, it was only one more of those paper systems where the design is separate from the execution. We have some information as to the thoughts and acts of the most intelligent and cultivated part of the human race, for twenty-five hundred years. Within that period the greatest men and greatest minds have been engaged in making and administering governments, and the most acute intellects have observed, criticised, praised or blamed their works. Within that time many systems have been generated, have grown and died, but there has never been discovered one where the paper limitations could balance the paper authority. The limitation must be supported by an equal physical power, or its equivalent, an universal public conscience. The veto of the Roman Tribune was gained by the movement of the Plebs to the Aventine Hill. It was maintained against denial by the certainty of a similar movement and the sacredness of the person of the Tribune, an injury to which made the offender an outlaw whom any one might kill, not only legally, but meritoriously. The limitation in that case was sustained by the equal physical force. The dissolution of the most excited Comitia upon the assertion by the magistrate holding the election, of an augury which forbade further action, is an example of the conscience power. Our Constitution is supreme over the man, but the voter is supreme over it and over the English language. Under it, the unjust in a minority are sure of their full share; in a majority, of more than their full share. The just in a majority can get no more than a full share, and in a minority may get less. Under any system which thus dispenses favor, men will not long pay a penalty for honesty. Human nature cannot withstand the temptation of such odds. The wonderful prudence of English politics is not due simply to the self-control of Englishmen, but to an universal dread of civil war, "one week of which on English ground would produce disasters that would be felt from the Hoang-ho to the Mississippi and leave traces for a century." "Therefore, as we cannot, without the risk of evils from which the imagination recoils, employ physical force as a remedy for misgovernment, it is evidently our

wisdom to keep all the constitutional checks upon misgovernment in the highest state of efficiency, to watch with jealousy the first beginnings of encroachment, and never to suffer irregularities, even when harmless in themselves, to pass unchallenged, lest they acquire the force of precedents." Our practice has been the reverse of this; from the very beginning of the government a necessity for compromise was made, and we kept compromising until the opinion grew that some might insist on anything provided they would be satisfied with half, and that others ought to give up one-half of anything, if they were allowed to keep the other half. By an act of July 31, 1789, all dues and fees under it were to be "received in gold and silver only." A Secretary of the Treasury reported that he construed that act to mean the exclusion of the paper emissions of the States, but not to apply to treasury drafts nor to the bills of banks founded on a specie basis. He was not impeached nor rebuked. Indeed, for the first twelve years of our political existence government was administered in the spirit of that report. The men who formed the Constitution were not only men of strong natural parts, but were from their long debate with Great Britain learned in the science of politics. They appear to have been familiar with all the great writers on that subject, both of ancient and modern times. As neither a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy would be accepted by the States, there was only left to them a choice between two federal systems. In one of such systems all power is given which is not expressly denied, and in the other all power is denied which is not expressly given. As the interests of the States in groups were opposite, if not hostile, a just government could only extend to interests common to all. But for the then general acceptance of the "self-evident truths," any constitution that could have been proposed with any hope, or right of hope, of ratification, must have provided against those burning questions of usurpation of power and misuse of power which must arise in every government, an arbitrator free from "an unavoidable bribe, yet a bribe," as well as some means of compelling the obedience of the ballot-box, as well as of men to the decision.

It has become the fashion of late years to assert that the law of causation, universal in all else, does not apply to politics; but legitimate conclusions sooner or later make themselves felt. War in 1861 was the logical outcome of the fallacy of 1776, and if there were any fallacies of opinion in 1861, they, in their fullness of time, will bear equally bitter fruit.

A. W. Blason

THE ANCIENT RACES OF AMERICA

THEORIES AS TO THEIR ORIGIN

A number of Chinese coins were presented to the Philadelphia Numismatic and Antiquarian Society last year, reported in its proceedings to have been "found in a tumulus at Vancouver's Island on the Pacific Coast, supposed to be more than a thousand years old." This discovery was regarded with much interest by archæologists, as affording perhaps certain evidence of communication between the Chinese and the ancient inhabitants of the north-western coast of America; but, like other reported discoveries of that nature it has in the main proved a disappointment.

Upon careful examination by Chinese scholars, the coins were found to be "cash" of the Fung Wen dynasty, about A.D. 1434, and of the Kin Leng dynasty about 1664. The latter date, although prehistoric upon that coast, destroys the supposition of the great antiquity of the tumulus. The discovery however, establishes, probably more directly than other evidence, the fact of early relations between the north-west coast tribes and the inhabitants of Asia through Behrings Straits, the Aleutian Islands, or through wrecks or accidental voyages.

In a recent publication, Professor Winchell gives an elaborate description (with illustrations), of a copper relic, resembling a rude coin, taken from an artesian well boring in Marshall county, Illinois. That it came from a depth of at least eighty feet, in the alluvial soil, is singularly well attested by three witnesses. It is curiously inscribed with strange figures and hieroglyphics—giving it a genuine appearance, but undecipherable. It has passed the rounds of archæologists and scientists, however, with no satisfactory theory regarding its history or inscriptions or genuineness having been reached, and at present, whether genuine or an archæological fraud, it has no practical value. Haywood in his "Aboriginal History of Tennessee," published in 1823, devotes nearly a chapter to the consideration of a Roman coin (of Antoninus Pius, date about A.D. 150) alleged to have been found at a depth of several feet in the natural soil at Fayetteville, Tennessee; but his statement of facts is meager and unsatisfactory, and his observations regarding it are often so preposterous, that the intelligent reader soon loses faith in the genuineness and value of the discovery.

The origin of the ancient inhabitants of America, and of their semi-civilization, suggested by such discoveries, continues to be one of the most interesting problems presented to the archæologist. It has had many solu-

tions, so called, yet none of them satisfactory. It is a mystery antiquarians have been constantly hoping some new discovery would unravel, but such discoveries and investigations as are made, add comparatively little light. Indeed, the more the question is examined the more complicated it becomes, even in the face of most patient industry and the ablest scientific research. Having had occasion recently to examine this subject with care, it may be of interest to present some conclusions reached by the writer, as showing the present status of the investigation.

On the very threshold, I believe it may be safely stated, that not one pre-columbian or prehistoric coin, implement, inscription, valued relic, or object of art, or architecture, or industry has been found on this continent north or south, of foreign or old world origin—directly or indirectly traceable. On his second return to America Columbus found the fragment of a wrecked ship on one of the islands of the West Indies; such fragments have also been carried by the Pacific currents to our north-west coast; but these can hardly be called exceptions to the general spirit of the foregoing statement. Considering the many discoveries and alleged discoveries in many directions, over this vast territory, and considering also the thirty centuries and more of civilization, extended commercial relations and widely distributed population existing on the other continents, this broad statement of the fact seems a surprise. In the absence of *object-discoveries* directly traceable to a foreign origin, our earlier archæologists confidently expected the solution of this problem would be found in the department of language relations, or ethnology.

Language is generally a safe guide to race affinities; but here, after more than a century of research, the difficulties are found to be practically insuperable. In this department, we have also to record the fact that no written language or decipherable system of inscriptions or hieroglyphics of Native American origin have been found. The hieroglyphics, or signs and symbols, of the ancient Maya Nation of Yucatan, perhaps merit the name of writings, but the key to their interpretation has thus far defied all learning and ingenuity. It must be remembered that the "Maya Chronicles," or manuscripts, as published by the late Dr. Brinton and others, are not the writings of the ancient Mayas, but the work of Spanish priests, subsequent to the conquest of Cortez. These clerical fanatics destroyed a vast number of valuable ancient records, as devilish devices of superstition, but partly atoned for the crime by inventing a system of written letters or signs to interpret and preserve the then existing language of the Mayas, and *these* are the so-called chronicles of the Mayas. They are of great archæological interest, but like the architectural remains of this most

civilized of the native races, they throw little light upon the question of its origin.

Ancient Mexican civilization did not reach a standard high enough to supply a written language. When Cortez and his Spanish adventurers appeared upon the coast of Mexico, in 1520, Montezuma learned of his coming only through messengers bearing pictures of strange ships in the sea. The painstaking Spanish writers of Aztec and Toltec History in Mexico gathered their traditions and facts from ancient figure paintings and illustrations preserved by the native Mexicans. These were their only substitute for a written history. Ancient Peru, with all its arts and industries, appears to have had no written language. Two or three rudely sculptured or inscribed tablets have been found among the remains of the mound builders of the Mississippi Valley, but they have no language significance, and occasional quasi-writings of the hunting races of Indians can hardly be said to reach the dignity of hieroglyphics. They are but crude pictures or signs, in the main, without special meaning.

Thus we find no established basis in Ancient America or among its native races, upon which to trace language relationships with the old world. If we turn to the investigation of the *spoken* languages of the aboriginal races (in which department Major Powell, Dall, and others, have done much faithful work), we find difficulties and complications innumerable. Indeed, it is already fairly demonstrated that language relations with ancient foreign nations cannot be established or even traced. There are no connecting links. No test of kinship stands, whether we seek it on the Asiatic or European side. Major Powell says, for instance, that North America furnishes not less than seventy-five *stocks* of language, and South America as many more. These stocks spread into innumerable languages and dialects, scarcely traceable to a common origin. H. H. Bancroft, in his "Native Races of the Pacific States," has classified some six hundred of these languages and dialects, but the whole number has been estimated at about thirteen hundred. In his report of the Colorado Exploring Expedition, Lieutenant Ives says: "The inhabitants of the different Pueblo villages within ten miles of each other speak three different languages."

Notwithstanding the proximity of Alaska and Asia the efforts of ethnologists to trace affinities in language in that direction have wholly failed. The north-west point of Alaska is about as far from San Francisco as the latter is from New York, a fact one scarcely realizes without having attention called to it. Many tribes of many languages occupied, or occupy, this vast territory. Their dialects, it is stated, cannot be even

traced to a common stock. They cannot be shown to be related to the languages of the Indians of the interior. The inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands of the north-west (which constitute almost an island bridge between the two continents) have no written language, and their spoken language is wholly unlike that of their Asiatic neighbors, as it is also unlike that of their Esquimaux neighbors in Alaska—thus negating all efforts to establish language relations with the ancient inhabitants of Asia through that source. To sum up the results of investigation in this branch of the subject, it may be stated that the best authorities unite in regarding the languages of our aboriginal races as radically distinguished and different from those of other continents, ancient or modern, and as manifestly original and primitive. We will not enter into the details of physical characteristics and craniology. Ethnologists have faithfully prosecuted their researches in this wide field of investigation, and volumes have been written upon it without any definite or satisfactory results bearing on this question. Beyond the fact that some of the inhabitants of our extreme north-west coast have features and facial expressions resembling those of their Asiatic neighbors, no foreign relationships or affinities seem to have been established in this department.

As may be presumed from the foregoing recital, the prehistoric remains of art and industry in America give no evidence of a foreign origin. On the contrary they verify all other proof of their originality. When Columbus discovered the first natives of the Western world, he called them "Indians," thinking he had reached the confines of Eastern India. Their designation has not been changed. Their art and architecture were apparently Indian in some of their characteristics, but this resemblance was due to the fact that they were in the main primitive and barbaric. The architectural remains of Central America, so fully described and illustrated by Stevens, Charney, and others, belong to no other known type. We look in vain for any features that connect them with the nations of the ancient world—Egypt, Assyria, Phœnicia, Greece, or China. The forms of pottery exhumed from the mounds and ancient graves of the Mississippi Valley, may be traced through Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Arizona, Mexico, Central America and Peru. They can be readily identified. They point to a common origin.

In the small collection belonging to the writer, specimens of the pottery of the Indians and mound builders, seem to be but primitive forms of the more carefully and handsomely made specimens obtained from ancient remains in Peru and Central America, and an examination of the museums of Europe will readily satisfy the antiquarian that these forms

bear no trace of relationship to the antique types found in Egypt or elsewhere in the old world—excepting in occasional accidental features. Another element in this ancient American problem that renders it difficult of solution is the fact that all departments of investigation force the conclusion that this continent was inhabited at a very remote period.

Some noted scientists have assigned to America an early place in the world's geologic history, and man's occupation appears to have been relatively remote. The Spaniards had conquered Mexico many years before they even discovered the ruins, Palenque and Uxinal, in the forests of Central America; and their explorers then described them as very ancient ruins. Trees had attained their full growth and fallen into decay on the site of these ancient cities, as well as upon the great earth-works of the mound builders. Mexican Aztec and Toltec history and tradition, as handed down in their pictures and symbol-chronicles in a reasonably consistent chronology, may be traced back through many centuries, estimated at from twelve to fifteen hundred years. It would seem also that a time no less than this might be required for the migration and distribution of the innumerable tribes over this broad continent, north and south, and for their development in some sections from primitive habits into comparative civilization.

Another fact of interest may be stated as bearing upon this question. The use of iron was generally known to the nations of antiquity before the historic period. In the eighth generation after Adam (as we are told in the Scriptures), Tubal Cain was "an instructor" in "a knowledge of brass and iron." Job tells us of it. It was used in constructing Solomon's Temple. It was found in abundance by Layard in the palace of Nimrod, in excavating the ruins of Nineveh. It was known in Western Europe more than 2,500 years ago, and at an early period in China; yet, it seems that *no prehistoric implement or article of iron*, or any evidence of manufactured iron has been found in America, excepting such rude implements or ornaments as were made from the native and unmelted ore. It would seem as if almost any communication with the ancient, outer world, would have led to a knowledge of iron, but it was probably never known in ancient America. Once known, it would doubtless never have been forgotten. Its uses are too manifest and the native ore too widely distributed. We will not consider the evidence of man's existence on this continent, as in Europe, as a contemporary of the mammoth and other extinct animals. The proof on this point seems well-nigh conclusive, and is now generally accepted by the best authorities. This fact, if admitted, throws difficulties in the way of the solution of this question practically insurmountable.

The well delineated face and figure of the negro on the tomb of Seti Menephistha, at Thebes (19th dynasty of Egypt B.C. 1500,) as illustrated by a number of standard historians, represent the present negro type in Africa with exactness. The original type does not seem to have changed in thirty-three centuries. Perhaps the native American may have been as long on this continent. Sir John Lubbock places about this limit upon the time of its first settlement. The ships of Phœnicia and perhaps of Troy, and later of Rome, Alexandria and Carthage, carried their commerce to many distant lands, yet no trace of their civilization, of their language or arts, appears to have reached this isolated Western Continent. The adventurous Norsemen of Northern Europe reached Greenland, and perhaps Labrador or Nova Scotia, and possibly a point further south, but they left no impress or trace behind them, excepting in the obscure records of their own country. From this brief summary it will be seen that the problem of "ancient America" is as far from solution as ever. It may be stated that archaeologists who have no special or favorite theory to defend are generally accepting the following conclusions:

First: That America was first settled by a primitive people or race, at a period too remote for calculation as to time, and probably before the languages and other characteristics of the old-world nations from which they sprung had assumed definite form, and before these nations had acquired their present geographical limits.

Second: That no theory of their origin has been, or probably can be established, that is entirely satisfactory to investigators or that has been accepted as conclusive.

Third: That the theory most generally accepted, points to an Asiatic, Mongol or Polynesian origin; a theory supported by the nearness of the two continents and by some similarities in appearance and characteristics, and by the steady flow of ocean currents from the coast of Asia eastward.

Fourth: The theory of a European or African origin, through a "Lost Atlantis" or change or depression in the earth's surface between Africa and the Caribbean Islands on the west, is second in popularity and as to the number of its advocates.

The fact, however, that it requires the aid of an earthquake of vast dimensions to establish it, will probably continue to stand in the way of its general acceptance. Other theories as to the first settlement of America it will not be necessary to mention here. They appear to have no substantial basis.

G. P. Thurston.

GENERAL ROGER ENOS

A LOST CHAPTER OF ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION TO CANADA, 1775

It is doubtful if any officer of the Revolutionary Army, always excepting Benedict Arnold, has so excited the ire, or called forth the prejudices of historical writers as Roger Enos, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the rear division of the memorable expedition to Canada under Arnold in 1775. It is a fact, familiar to readers of American history, that Colonel Enos returned from that expedition with his division before the army reached Canada. Judge Henry, in his journal of the march, speaks of that return as a "desertion;" B. J. Lossing, Hon. I. N. Arnold, and others have adopted Henry's word. Bancroft, in his History of the United States, stigmatizes Enos as "a craven." Mr. Mills, in the February Number of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY (1885), refers to his conduct as "cowardice," and thus the charges are repeated by modern writers "ad libitum." So far, however, none have accused Enos with being a "traitor." This one more depth remains to which coming writers may consign him.

Correspondence with several authors, who have adopted Henry's language, shows that Colonel Enos' case has received from no one an exhaustive or impartial investigation. If he *was* guilty of cowardice, or desertion, his name should be placed, in the history of his times, just below that of Arnold. If he was *not* guilty of either crime, where should we place the names of those who have so maligned him? It is remarkable how very difficult it is for the present age to view calmly and with an even balance the characters who acted on either side of the struggle during the seven years' war for American Independence. The iconoclasts of the past twenty years have done much to bring about a more judicious examination of that period. Sabine's Loyalists was a manifestation of fairness that at the time almost "took our breath." Lowell's work on the "Hessians and other German Auxiliaries" has corrected many very one-sided opinions of that unfortunate class of British troops. Parkman's last most charming volume, "Montcalm and Wolfe," has finally toned down materially the glory of martyrdom with which we have always surrounded the sad history of the Acadians. Possibly ere the present century has expired the student of American history, not the mere book-maker, may have reached that large-hearted point of view expressed in the words "*audi alteram partem*."

With this invaluable motto, so very important in judging of events in which we were not factors, it may be worth while to ask

I. Who was Roger Enos?

He was the son of David and Mary (Gillet) Eno or Enos of Simsbury, Connecticut, and great grandson of James Eno, who came from England and settled at Windsor, Conn., 1646. He was born, Simsbury, Conn., 1729, and died, Colchester, Conn., October 6, 1808, æt. 79. He was forty-six years of age when the march to Canada occurred. He entered at an early age into the military service of the Crown during the French War. From 1759 to the close of the war he was actively engaged in the field. Nor was this military service of constraint. His name heads the list of volunteers from his own town—then Windsor—for the Canada Campaign of 1759 and 1760. The Assembly of Connecticut successively promoted him for his services in the field as follows: Ensign of the First Company, Colonel Phineas Lyman's Regiment, March, 1760; Lieutenant of the same company at Montreal, Canada, September, 1760; Adjutant of the Regiment 1761, during which year he also acted as Captain-Lieutenant of the First Company; First Lieutenant and of the same company, 1762; Captain of the Fifth Company, Colonel Israel Putnam's Regiment, 1764, in the expedition sent that year against the Indians. He accompanied his command on the expedition to the West Indies in 1762, which laid siege to and captured the city of Havanna; an enterprise as successful to the arms of Great Britain as it was disastrous to her army, which was decimated by the climate. In 1773 he was appointed on a commission composed of Colonels Israel Putnam, Rufus Putnam, Phineas Lyman, and Captain Roger Enos, sent to the Mississippi Valley to survey the lands granted by the Crown to the provincial troops engaged in the French War and the Havanna Campaign. An unpublished journal of this commission, kept by General Rufus Putnam, is now owned by Marietta College, Ohio. The principal outcome of this commission was the colony settled at Natchez, Mississippi, by Colonel Lyman. In 1775 Enos entered the Continental Army as Lieutenant-Colonel of the 22d Regiment in Arnold's expedition to Canada. He returned from that expedition with his command October 25, 1775, and on December 1, 1775, he was tried by court martial on the charge of "quitting his commanding officer without leave," and was "*honorably acquitted.*"

He resigned his commission in the army, then Lieutenant-Colonel 16th Connecticut Regiment, January 18, 1776. In May, 1777, he served in a committee of Windsor citizens to secure a bounty of £30 to each man who should enlist in the Continental service. He afterward commanded

one of the Connecticut regiments thus raised, and stationed in the southwest corner of the State. Late in 1779 he left the Connecticut service and moved to Vermont, where, with others, he settled the town of Enosburg, March, 1780. In 1781 he was appointed Brigadier-General, and placed in command of all the Vermont troops then in service. In that year he wrote to General Washington announcing his return to active service in the field. In 1787 he was elected Major-General of the 1st Division of the State of Vermont, holding this position until 1791, when he resigned. Thus he was for over thirty years almost continuously in the military service of his country. From 1781 to 1792 he was a member of the Vermont Board of War; of the State Assembly; of the House Committee to settle the New Hampshire and Vermont controversy, and a Trustee of the University of Vermont, elected by the Assembly. He was also one of the House Committee to consider the Vermont resolutions passed by the Continental Congress. From his entrance into the State in 1779 until 1792, a period of twelve years, he was one of the most prominent actors and most honored figures in the history of Vermont, where none ever doubted his loyalty to the United Colonies, his military capacity, or his moral courage, and where no one at this day believes one word of the charges made against him in regard to the Canada campaign. In 1792, worn out, at the age of 63, with his long and active service, he resigned all his public offices and retired to Connecticut, where with his daughter, Mrs. General Ira Allen, he passed his remaining days. He married, March 10, 1763, Jerusha Hayden, of Windsor, Connecticut, daughter of Daniel and Esther (Mone) Hayden, and had five children, one of whom, Jerusha Hayden Enos, married General Ira Allen of Vermont, and one married Pascal Paoli, who was one of the four proprietors of Springfield, Illinois, 1823, where his descendants still reside. Such an honored record of civil and military services, drawn from the published archives of Connecticut and Vermont, should cause the historian to hesitate before accepting the second-hand statements made against General Enos, or at least prevent a one-sided judgment of his conduct in the expedition of 1775.

II. What are the real facts of Enos' conduct in the Canada expedition?

This important venture for the possession of Canada was planned by Washington, the preparations made with as much secrecy and dispatch as possible, and placed under the command of Benedict Arnold. The little army consisted of 1080 men in two battalions; Arnold, in his letter of October 13, says 950 men. The first battalion was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher Greene; the second by Lieutenant-Colonel

Roger Enos. The command was again sub-divided into three divisions, of which the third, or rear division, was placed in charge of Colonel Enos, and numbered 350 men. The march was begun September 11, 1775. At Fort Western Arnold sent in advance a party of eleven men under Lieutenant Steele, to open the way as far as possible. In this party was Henry, who wrote of Enos only from hearsay. The rest of the army, with Arnold's division in advance, followed as rapidly as the almost insurmountable difficulties of the way would permit, frequently making only two or three miles a day. Each division was supplied with forty-five days' provisions. The various accounts of the hardships of this march seem almost incredible. They are vividly portrayed in the journals of Henry, Thayer, Senter, Melvin, Meigs, Ward, and others, all of whose records are accessible to the student of history. It is doubtful if the terrible sufferings which they have recounted have ever been equaled in the history of military adventures. The army met with heavy rains, swollen streams, and deep morasses in an almost unknown and trackless wilderness. Their boats were dashed to pieces in the torrents, and their provisions lost or spoiled. They dug up roots and ate them, made soup out of moccasins and raw hide, and vainly sought to find nourishment in such a diet; dog meat, including the hide, and "the entrails broiled on the coals, were luxuries, and death by starvation stared them in the face."

Arnold started with his division with forty-five days' provisions. Two-fifths of this was lost by the wrecking of batteaux before October 15. To such terrible straits was this division subsequently reduced that Arnold left it and pushed ahead day and night, to reach the French settlements and send back supplies.

General Dearborn, then a Captain in the first division, says: "My dog was very large and a great favourite. I gave him up to several men of Cap^t Goodrich's company, who killed him and divided him among those who were suffering most severely with hunger. They ate every part of him, not excepting his entrails; and after finishing their meal, they collected the bones and carried them to be pounded up and to make broth for another meal. Old moose hide breeches were boiled and then broiled on the coals and eaten. A barber's powder bag made a soup in the course of the last three or four days before we reached the first settlements in Canada. Many died with hunger and fatigue, frequently four or five minutes after making their last effort and sitting down."

Thayer, who was a Captain in the second division, Colonel Greene, says of their sufferings a week after Enos had divided his scanty store with them, reserving only three days' supplies for a march back of 100 miles:

"Nov. 1, we observed a sergeant and 10 or 12 men round a fire and saw with astonishment that they were devouring a Dog between them, and eating paunch, Guts and skin. We pushed on * * * and after marching 2 days and 2 nights without the least nourishment,"—discovered the party sent back by Arnold with a supply of provision, at four o'clock on the evening of November 3. The vicissitudes of the advance party up to October 24, were not unknown to Enos, whom Arnold kept advised by letter and courier until Enos' return. Thus Arnold wrote him from the Third Carrying Place, October 15, "The three first divisions have twenty-five days' provisions, which will carry them to Chaudiere Pond and back, where we shall doubtless have intelligence, and shall be able to proceed or return as shall be thought best." Two days later, October 17, he writes in a different strain from Dead River: "I arrived here last night late and find Col. Greene's division very short of provisions, the whole having only *four* barrels of flour and *ten* barrels of pork." He ordered back Major Biglow with a Lieutenant and thirty-one men out of each company to meet Enos, "and bring up as much as you (Enos) can spare." Thus Green's division had met with such reverses in the loss of provisions that at that date, October 16, they had less than 800 lbs. of flour and 10 barrels of pork to sustain a body of 350 men for seventeen days, that is from October 16 to November 4, when they met the provisions which Arnold had sent back from the settlements. As to his own division, Arnold wrote Enos, October 24, that, instead of twenty-five days' provision in hand, his party was reduced to fifteen days' provision, when four days' march from Chaudiere, and that a council of war had decided "to send back all sick and feeble with 3 days' provision * * * and that on receipt of this you should proceed with as many of the best men of your division *as you can furnish with 15 days' provisions*, and that the remainder *whether sick or well* should be immediately sent back to the Commissary." To Colonel Farnsworth he wrote the same day, "I find it necessary for the safety of the detachment to send back the sick, and to reduce the detachment so as to have fifteen days' provision for the whole. Those who are sent back you will supply with provisions and send back to Cambridge as soon as possible." This letter he repeated to Colonel Greene the same day. On the 27th he wrote to General Washington that he had left the principal part of the detachment eight leagues below the Great Carrying Place, short of provisions by reason of the loss of many batteaux at the falls and rapid waters; that he had ordered all the sick and feeble to return, "and wrote Colonels Enos and Greene to bring on in their divisions no more men than they could furnish with 15 days' provisions, and send back the

remainder to the Commissary." November 8 he repeats this order in his letter to the Commander in Chief: "I had ordered Col. Enos to send back the sick and feeble, *and those of his division who could not be supplied* with fifteen days' provisions."

Colonel Enos, under date of November 9th, wrote Washington, from "Brunswick, near Kennebunk," thus:

"SIR, I am on my return from Col Arnold's detachment. I brought up the rear of the whole. Captains McCobb's, Williams and Scott's companies were assigned to my division. We proceeded as far as 50 miles up the Dead River, & then were obliged to return for want of provisions. When we arrived at the Great Carrying place, by what I could learn from the division forward that provisions were like to be short, I wrote to Col Arnold & desired him to take account of the provisions forward. He wrote me that there were 25 days' provisions for all the divisions ahead, but to my surprise before we got over the Great Carrying place, Major Bigelow with 90 men were sent back from Col Greene's division to mine for provisions. I let them have all I could spare. I continued my march with all expedition, & when about 50 miles up the Dead River overtook Col Greene with his division, entirely out of provisions, & by reason of men being sent back with orders from Col Arnold for me to furnish them with provisions to carry them to the inhabitants my division was reduced to 4 days' provisions. Col Arnold was gone ahead; the Chief of the Officers of Col Greene's division and mine were together when we took the situation of our division into consideration, and upon the whole it was thought best for my whole division to return & furnish those that proceeded with all our provisions except 3 days to bring us back, which I did without loss of time. A more particular account shall be able to give when I return to Cambridge. Shall lose no time if able to ride. I have for many days been unwell. Expect the whole of my division at this place to-morrow, when shall set out on our march to Cambridge.

"I am your most obedient humble servant

"ROGER ENOS."

From the various journals of this Expedition, it is easy to see the position in which Colonel Enos was placed, and which forced him to the course he pursued. Of the 1,080 men who composed the army, Enos commanded, in his division, and according to Marshall, only one-third, or 350 men. Arnold reached Canada with 550 men. Deducting Enos' 350, leaves nearly 200 unaccounted for, who doubtless returned sick, or fell exhausted and expired by the way. Of Enos' 350, at least 150 were simply "*attached*" to his division, and were not a part of his proper command. Henry speaks without knowledge when he says that "Enos had returned with 500 men and a large stock of provisions." Into this even Mr. Mills falls, and displays a lack of careful examination of the subject. Such an estimate places Arnold's army beyond the number reported by the best authorities. Stone, in his issue of Thayer's "Journal," says:

"In the then crude state of military authority, the control held by officers

over their men was more the result of personal regard than of deference to position. Every man had an opinion and was free to express it. Among a portion of Arnold's troops the views of officers and men coincided. Disaffection had extended to three companies, and it became advisable to hold a council of war for decisive measures, and this took place October 25, on reaching Dead River." Meigs says in his journal of that date that instead of there then being fifteen days' rations for the command, "the provisions were so reduced that the men were on the allowance of $\frac{3}{4}$ th pound of pork and $\frac{3}{4}$ th pound of flour per day for each." And a careful examination of the various journals will show that on this day the rations of the entire command, including the two divisions of Greene and Enos, did not exceed four days' supply. On this meager provision the men were to subsist for nine days. Thayer records that during the last forty-eight hours of those nine days, and just before the command met Arnold's provisions, "they were without the least nourishment." The council of war held at Dead River is recorded by three journalists, Meigs, Senter and Thayer. Of these Thayer *alone* was one of the council and present during its session.

Dr. Senter says: "Col Arnold had left previous orders for Greene & Enos' divisions to come to an *adjustment* of the provisions, send back any who were indisposed either in body or mind and pursue him with the rest." This is not a correct statement and does not agree with Arnold's letters which the two lieutenant-colonels had received. At the council of war eleven officers were present; Colonel Enos presided. Greene, Bigelow, Topham, Thayer, Ward, voted to proceed; Williams, McCobb, Scott, Hide, Peters, voted against proceeding. Colonel Enos cast the deciding vote in favor of proceeding. Senter, who was then a young man of twenty-two years, says: "Col Enos, though he voted for proceeding, yet had undoubtedly pre-engaged to the contrary, as every action demonstrated." Thayer, a man of thirty-eight years, who had already seen much severe service with Enos in the French war, and had suffered some of its vicissitudes at the surrender of Fort William Henry, who was second to no soldier of the Revolution as to his gallantry and integrity, and who was present in the council of war, says just the reverse about Enos. On the 24th of October, when Arnold supposed the two divisions to be well supplied with fifteen days' rations from Enos' bountiful store, Thayer says of Greene's division: "Had intelligence of its being 25 miles to the Great Carrying place, where the height of land is, and in the meantime destitute of provisions, for the 2 barrels we brought gave 2 pounds each man, and we had only $\frac{1}{2}$ pint left to deliver out."

"Oct. 25. We staid for Col^o Greene to consult about our situation & what to do for provisions. We sent back 48 men & 1 subaltern in 3 batteaux. The men are much disheartened, and eagerly wish to return; however, I am certain if their bellies were full they would be willing enough to proceed."

The Council of War having decided to go forward, he says: "It was resolved that Col Enos should not return back. His party who were 6 in number, & by one inferior to ours observed with regret that we voted to proceed, on which they held a council of war amongst themselves, of which were the Captains McCobb, Williams & Scott, & unanimously declared that they would return & not rush into such imminent danger. * * * Col Enos declared to us that he was willing to go & take his boat, in which there was some provision, and share the same fate with us, but was obliged to tarry through the means of his effeminate officers who rather pass their time in tippling than turn it to the profit & advantage of their country who stands in need of their assistance. Cap^t Williams stept towards me & wished me success, but told me he never expected to see me or any of us (again), he was so conscious of the imminent danger we were to go through. In the meantime Col^o Enos advanced with tears in his eyes, wishing me & mine success, & took as he then supposed & absolutely thought, his last farewell of me, demonstrating to me that it was with the utmost reluctance he remained behind, though being certain he would never survive the attempt."

And so they parted. Greene had near 400 men with three days' provisions to traverse 75 miles through a route that occupied nearly the whole of nine days before a supply of food could be had. On the 28th Thayer says: "We divided our flour equally in 10 companies, the quantity amounting to seven Pints each man for 7 Days." Enos had 350 men and three days' provisions to travel 100 miles to the first settlement. This distance had already occupied the detachment twenty-two days, from October 2 to October 24, to pass over. As Thayer says: "Oct. 2. * * * at the last inhabitants now, & meet no other until we come to Canada." Enos' command was fifteen days in reaching Brunswick.

To recapitulate: Arnold started on his march September 11th with 1,080 men and forty-five days' provision, his detachment reaching the French settlements November 4th. Within thirty days, October 14th, the first division was reduced to twenty-five days' supplies. Two days later, October 17th, the second, or Greene's division, was reduced to four barrels flour and ten barrels pork for 350 men for seventeen days' march. Ten days later, October 24th, Greene's division having received through Major

Biglow all that Enos could supply, on the 18th had only half a pint of flour left to deliver out to each man; and Arnold's first division was on the allowance of three-quarters of a pound of flour and three-quarters of a pound of pork per day, for each man. Greene and Enos met on the 25th. Enos divided his rations with Greene. They parted, October 26, each with three days' supply. Nine days later, November 3, Arnold's party were eating dog-meat, moccasin soup, broiled hide, etc.; Greene's party had been forty-eight hours without the least food, and Enos' men, on the return march, were saved from similar suffering by having killed a large moose. Enos' position, October 25th, was certainly one of extreme difficulty. He could take no action that would not be, in part, a disobedience of Arnold's orders. He pursued what seemed to him the best course when he voted to proceed. His officers took what really proved to be the best course when they refused to proceed. Arnold's orders were imperative: "Provide Greene's division with supplies, forward all of the best men of his own party that he could furnish with 15 days' rations, & send back the rest, sick or well, immediately." There was no discretionary power left to Enos. On the 18th he supplied Greene's party with all he could spare. On the 25th, when Arnold's orders of the 24th reached him, he divided his provisions with Greene, giving him two barrels of flour and two barrels of pork. On the 26th he began his return march with 300 men and three days' provision. Here was Enos' dilemma (he had 900 rations): 1st. To forward such of his best men as he could furnish with fifteen days' rations would have added thirty men to the advance march, and have left 270 men to tread the way back, one hundred miles, utterly destitute of food. Such a disobedience of orders could not be considered for a moment. 2d. To proceed with his 300 men and three days' rations would have imperilled the whole detachment, and probably, as General Sullivan says, have caused them to perish with hunger. This would have been equally a disobedience of orders.

To return home with all whom he could not furnish with fifteen days' provisions was also a disobedience of orders, as it took away from Arnold this entire division, forwarding none to the assistance of his commanding officer. Each of these lines of action, he could easily see, terminated in court-martial. Without doubt the course Enos did take saved the lives of his own division, if not of the others; preserved the *morale* of his troops, and was declared by the court-martial as necessary and wise.

Of course Enos' return was a surprise to Washington, who was entirely in ignorance of the cause. He placed him immediately under arrest, not because his time of service was nearly expired, for it had only just begun; and ordered a court of inquiry to be held November 29, 1775.

This court was composed of Major-General Charles Lee, President; Brigadier-Generals Greene and Heath; Colonels (afterwards Generals) John Stark and John Nixon, and Majors Durkee and Sherburne. Their examination of the charges resulted in the expressed "opinion, that Col. Enos' misconduct, if he has been guilty of misconduct, is not of so heinous a nature as was at first supposed; but it is necessary for the satisfaction of the world, and for his own honour, that a court-martial should be immediately held for his trial."

The court-martial was held December 1, 1775. President Brigadier-General John Sullivan and twelve field officers. "The court being duly sworn," proceeded to try Colonel Enos for "leaving the detachment under Colonel Arnold, and returning home without permission from his commanding officer." To this Enos replied that it was true he did return without permission from his commanding officer, "but the circumstances of the case were such as obliged him so to do." The witnesses for the defense were the officers of Enos' division, Captains Williams, McCobb and Scott, and Lieutenants Hide and Buckmaster. These entirely concurred in their testimony, that to go forward with only three days' supply of food was impossible; that Colonel Enos was for going forward without his division, but that his presence was absolutely so necessary to secure the harmony and safe retreat of the men that they had each protested against his leaving them. The full testimony of these witnesses can be found in Force's "Archives," Vol. III., p. 1709, and Munsell's edition of Henry's "Journal," p. 52, where the result of the trial is recorded as follows:

"The Court being cleared, after mature consideration, are unanimously of opinion that Colonel Enos was under a necessity of returning with the division under his command, and therefore acquit him with honour.

John Sullivan, President. A true copy of the proceedings attest. W. Tudor, Judge Advocate."

The subsequent testimony of General Sullivan is most explicit in confirmation of this decision, and entirely disarms of its force Munsell's intimation that the witnesses in the trial perjured themselves in Enos' defense.

"New-York, April 28, 1776.

"I hereby certify that I was President of a Court-Martial, in *Cambridge*, when Colonel *Enos* was tried for leaving Colonel *Arnold*, with the rear division of the detachment under his command, bound for *Quebeck*; and, upon the trial, it clearly appeared to me, as well as to all the other members of the Court, that Colonel *Enos* was perfectly justifiable in returning with the division, being clearly proved, by the testimony of witnesses of undoubted veracity, (some of whom I have been personally acquainted with for a number of years, and know them to be persons of truth,) that so much provision had been sent for-

ward, to support the other divisions, as left them so small a quantity that their men were almost famished with hunger on their return; and some would undoubtedly have starved, had they not, by accident, come across and killed a large moose. Upon their evidence, there remained no doubt in the mind of myself, or any of the members, that the return of the division was prudent and reasonable; being well convinced that they had not provision sufficient to carry them half way to *Quebeck*, and that their going forward would only have deprived the other division of a part of theirs, which, as the event has since shown, was not enough to keep them all from perishing; we therefore unanimously acquitted Colonel *Enos* with honour.

"I further certify, that by a strict inquiry into the matter since, from persons who were in the divisions that went forward, I am convinced that had Colonel *Enos*, with his division, proceeded, it would have been a means of causing the whole detachment to have perished in the woods, for want of sustenance.

"I further add, that I have been well informed, by persons acquainted with Colonel *Enos*, that he has ever conducted as a good and faithful officer. JOHN SULLIVAN."

The estimation in which *Enos* was held by the officers of the army, and the light in which his course in the present instance was held is seen in this additional testimony.

TO THE IMPARTIAL PUBLICK.

"The case of Lieutenant-Colonel *Enos* having engaged the attention of many officers of the Army, as well as others, and as we are informed he is much censured by many persons, for returning back from the expedition to *Canada*, under the command of Colonel *Arnold*, by which Colonel *Enos's* character greatly suffers, we think it our duty to certify, that some of us, from our own personal knowledge of the military abilities of Colonel *Enos*, and others of us from information, are fully convinced that he is a gentleman fully acquainted with his duty as an officer, a man of fortitude and prudence, and, in our opinion, well calculated to sustain, with honour, any military character; and, from the fullest inquiry, we are satisfied that (whatsoever different representations may be made) in returning to camp, with the division under his command, he is justifiable, and conducted as an understanding, prudent, faithful officer, and deserves applause rather than censure; and we can safely recommend him as a person worthy to be employed in any military department.

WILLIAM HEATH, *Brigadier-General*.

JAMES REED, *Colonel*.

J. BREWER, *Colonel*.

SAMUEL H. PARSONS, *Colonel*.

JOSEPH REED, *Colonel*.

JONATHAN NIXON, *Colonel*.

CHARLES WEBB, *Colonel*.

DANIEL HITCHCOCK, *Colonel*.

JOHN STARK, *Colonel*.

LEVI WELLS, *Major*.

SAMUEL WYLLYS, *Colonel*.

WILLIAM SHEPARD, *Lieutenant-Colonel*.

ANDREW COLBURN, *Major*.

JOEL CLARK, *Lieutenant-Colonel*.

EBENEZER SPROUT, *Major*.

EBENEZER CLAP, *Lieutenant-Colonel*.

SAMUEL PRENTICE, *Major*.

CALVIN SMITH, *Major*.

JOSIAH HAYDEN, *Major*.

JOHN BAILY, *Colonel*.

JOHN TYLER, *Lieutenant-Colonel*.

THOMAS NIXON, *Lieutenant-Colonel*.

LOAMMI BALDWIN, *Colonel*.

JAMES WESSON, *Lieutenant-Colonel*.

ISAAC SHERMAN, *Major*."

Now, supposing Enos to have been guilty of either "desertion" or "cowardice," in his return from the expedition, one of the most remarkable phases of the case is the silence of both Washington and Arnold about his conduct. Neither of these ever applied such terms to his action. The strongest language that Washington used in referring to him was in his letter to Congress, November 19, in which he says, "notwithstanding the great *defection*, I do not despair of Col. Arnold's success." To Arnold he wrote December 5: "You could not be more surprised than I was at Enos' return, with the division under his command. I immediately put him under arrest, etc., etc. He is acquitted on the score of provisions."

Arnold, with his hot blood and impetuosity, so far from "depicting the cowardice and shame of Enos," simply says, in his letter to Washington, November 8, "all are happily arrived, except * * * Colonel Enos's division, who I am surprised to hear are *all gone back*." To General Montgomery he writes same day: "The other part with Col^o *Enos returned* from Dead River contrary to my expectation, he having orders to send back only the sick and those who could not be furnished with provisions." Again to General Schuyler he wrote, November 7, "near one-third of the detachment *returned* from the Dead River *short of provisions*." Again, describing his difficulties in reaching Canada, he writes, "short of provisions, part of the detachment *disheartened and gone back*, famine staring us in the face." Beyond this not one word is found in all the writings of either Washington or Arnold that casts the least reflection on Colonel Enos, or on the opinion of the court-martial. There can be but little doubt that had Arnold known one-half the difficulties that awaited him he would never have undertaken the expedition furnished as he was. He wrote Washington, October 27th: "I have been much deceived in every account of our route, which is much longer, and has been attended with a thousand difficulties I never apprehended." He was evidently surprised at the almost insurmountable hinderances he met with; owing to which he fully expected that a *part* at least of his detachment would be obliged to return, for want of provisions. Hence his orders of the 24th to Enos, Greene and Farnsworth. But knowing nothing of the destitution in Greene's and Enos' command on that date, he naturally expressed surprise that Enos' command "are *all gone back*." From the marked absence of all complaint or censure, especially after he had become acquainted with the reasons for the return of so many, the conclusion is inevitable that he recognized the necessity for Enos' course, and accepted the opinion of the court-martial as final.

It was so accepted also by the early historians of the Revolutionary war. President William Allen, whose "Account of the Expedition of

Arnold" published in the Maine Historical Society Collections, Vol. I., prepared his paper during the life of and in correspondence with General Dearborn, one of the captains immediately under Arnold. He fully accepts the finding of the court as a justification of Enos. So does Marshall in his "Life of Washington," in both the first and last editions. Also Colonel Carrington, U.S.A., in his "Battles of the Revolution;" Drake in his "Biographical Dictionary," and many other impartial writers. The venerable Governor Hiland Hall, one of the historians of Vermont, writes me, September, 1879: "I have always believed that Enos' return from Arnold's expedition against Quebec was fully justified by the circumstances in which he was placed, and that the verdict of the court-martial of distinguished officers which investigated his conduct at the time, and which unanimously acquitted him '*with honour*,' ought to be received by posterity as his complete and perfect vindication. Recent examination of original authorities has served to confirm my previous opinion and to make it very clear to me that the censures of modern writers must have been made without sufficient and proper consideration, and that they are entirely unjustifiable."

The letters of Arnold quoted in this paper, with the action of the court-martial and the testimony of the Continental officers, are all preserved in the State Department at Washington, and are published in Force's "Archives" and the Maine Historical Society Collections. They show most conclusively that the entire charge against Enos was fully adjudicated at the time—adjudicated by his peers; by a court of inquiry of seven officers of high rank; a court-martial of fourteen officers of the Continental line, among them some of the ablest and brightest military men of the Revolution; with all the evidence before them; Enos' own acknowledgment of his return and his reasons therefor; the evidence of five officers of his command testifying on oath, not themselves on trial or to be affected by the issue of the trial; officers known personally to members of the court, and whose veracity is vouched for by the president of the court, and, therefore, cannot be impeached simply to make up a case against Enos. The decision of the court-martial, Washington, who had the power to reject, approved in general orders, intensifying the language of the decision thus: "The court, after mature consideration of the evidence, are unanimously of the opinion that the prisoner was, by *absolute* necessity, obliged to return with his division," etc., etc. The President of the Court, and twenty-five officers of the army, including three of the Court of Inquiry, and Colonel Joseph Reed, the Adjutant-General of the Army, on the staff of the Commander-in-Chief, after subsequent and careful inquiry of those who went forward with Greene to join Arnold, in the most positive language

reconfirmed the action of the court. Compare those eminent men, sitting in court-martial, "the court being duly sworn," and the five witnesses testifying on oath and the honorable acquittal on oath, with the modern historian sitting in his study, one hundred years after the events of which he writes, repeating old calumnies from second-hand authorities, charging "*desertion*" and "*cowardice*," where he cannot prove either, and say if this last be history? The Honorable Isaac N. Arnold, shortly after publishing his life of Benedict Arnold, addressed to me this letter: " * * * I have not yet found time to give the case of Col^o Enos an exhaustive investigation, but in my late readings & reflections I have not forgotten your suggestions, & I am inclined to think my language in regard to him in my 'Life of Arnold' needs some modification. I do not think Col Enos meant to '*desert*' the Canada Expedition in the odious sense of that term. I know of no evidence that he acted from '*cowardice*,' and do not think he could be just called '*a craven*.' I shall in my next edition, p. 69, say '*the return of Enos*,' instead of '*the desertion of Enos*.' It was probably an error of judgment; an error which a man like *Morgan* would not have committed, but which a very prudent, cautious man might make without any but good motives."

Against such an estimate of Enos' conduct there is no need to protest, since it accepts the judgment of the court-martial as final, and casting no reflections on either the honor or courage of Enos. The purpose of this paper is simply to show the reading public that Enos was neither a "deserter" nor a "coward," and to enable future writers to accord to him simple justice, no more.

Horace Edwin Hayden

THE HUNGRY PILGRIMS

In the chronicles of the early days of our Pilgrim fathers, we learn that want and famine, with consequent suffering, came to their humble dwellings; that at times they were in pinched and straitened circumstances, being reduced to a half allowance of food. What was the cause of this hunger and sorrow? Why this lack of food? The sea by their side was full of fish. They came from a land which for a century, year by year, had sent its fishermen to these same coasts, and cargo after cargo of fish had been taken back to homeland. Every expedition the Pilgrims made for corn or other commodities, they sailed over waters literally filled with food, or penetrated woods with abundant game. Mourt's Relation says: "For fish and fowle, we have great abundance, fresh Codd in the Summer is but course meat with vs, our Bay is full of Lobsters all the Summer, and affordeth varietie of other Fish; in September we can take a Hogshead of Eeles in a night, with small labour, & can dig them out of their beds, all the Winter we have Mussells, &c. * * * Oysters we have none near, but can have them brought by the Indians when we will." * According to Governor Bradford, certain kinds of fish were so plentiful in 1621, as to be used for manure in planting their corn. He also says: "Others were exercised in fishing, aboute codd & bass, & other fish, of which y^e tooke good store, of which every family had their portion. And now begane to come in store of foule, as winter approached, of which this place did abound when they came first (but afterward decreased by degrees). And beside water foule, ther was great store of wild Turkeys, of which they tooke many, besides venison, &c. Besides they had aboute a peck a meale a weeke to a person, or now since harvest, Indean corn to y^t proportion, which made many afterwards write so largely of their plenty hear to their friends in England, which were not fained, but true reports." † Edward Winslow wrote to England by the return of the *Fortune*: "We are so far free from want, that we often wish you partakers of our plenty." Mourt states that in March, 1621, Carver and five others went to Billington Sea, near by, and found excellent fishing; testifying also to the abundance of all kinds of fish in Taunton River, Buzzard's Bay, Manomet River, and other neighboring waters; also to the plentifulness of game: "This Bay is a most hopefull place, innumerable store of fowle, * * * Skote [skate],

* Dr. Henry Martyn Dexter's edition, pp. 135-6.

† History of Plymouth Plantation, Collections Mass. Hist. Society, p. 105.

Cod, Turbot, and Herring wee have tasted of, abundance of musles, the greatest and best that ever we saw; Crabs and Lobster in their time infinite." * * * "Squanto went at noone to fish for Eeles, at night he came home with as many as he could well lift in one hand * * * fat sweet, he trod them out with his feete, and so caught them with his hands without any other Instrument." * We are also told: "Master Jones sent shallop as he had formerly done, to see where fish could be got," * * * and "at night they returned with three great Seals, and an excellent good Cod, which did assure us that we should have plenty of fish shortly." Other instances of the plentifulness of fish in creeks, rivers and ocean might be given. And from the privileges granted in the charter of June 1, 1621, now preserved in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, it would seem that they must have been prepared for fishing, gunning, or the taking of game in any necessary manner; it says: "Together with all such Liberties, pryviledges, profitts & comodyties as the said Land and Ryvers which they shall make choyce of shall yeield together with free libertie to fishe on and upon the coast of New England and in all havens ports and creeks Thereunto belonging. * * * And it shal be lawfull for the said Undertakers & Planters their heires & successors freely to truck trade & traffiq with the Salvages in New England or neighboring thereabouts at their wills & pleasures without lett or disturbance. As also to have libertie to hunt, hauke, fish or fowle in any place or places not now or hereafter by the English inhabited."† But, notwithstanding all this knowledge of the land to which they went, which they must have had, and the privileges which were granted them, fears of coming want were realized during the first year, 1621. The harvest as a whole yielded poorly: "Our corn did prove well; and God be praised, we had a good increase of Indian corn;" the barley was "indifferently good," but the "pease not worth the growing." Bradford says the "wheat and pease" "came not to good eather by y^e badness of y^e seed, or lateness of y^e season, or both, or some defecte;"‡ nevertheless the Pilgrims held their first Thanksgiving in November of that

* Concerning the abundance of fish in these surrounding waters, we have Champlain's testimony when in this very harbor of Plymouth in 1605: "There came to us two or three canoes, which had just been fishing for cod and other fish, which are found there in great numbers. These they catch with hooks made of a piece of wood, to which they attach a bone in the shape of a spear, and fasten it very securely. The whole has a fang-shape, and the line attached to it is made out of the bark of a tree. They gave me one of their hooks, which I took as a curiosity." —Rev. Edmund F. Slafter's *Voyages of Champlain*, published by the Prince Society, vol. ii., p. 77.

† William T. Davis's *Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth*.

‡ *History of Plymouth Plantation*, p. 100.

year. The *Fortune* arrived during this same month, bringing thirty-five more settlers, and, not long after, it was realized that there was a necessity for putting them all on a half allowance. In May, 1622, their provisions were gone, and Edward Winslow was sent to Monhegan, where he was generously supplied "with a sufficiency of bread to allow each person four ounces per day until harvest;"* but while he was gone "had it not been for shell-fish dug from the sands, all must have perished."† He seems to have sought for bread only on this expedition; nothing said about fish of any kind; no effort to catch or bring any alluded to. Later expeditions to buy corn, partially successful, under Governor Bradford and Captain Miles Standish, were made to the Indians. This gave relief during January and February, 1623. Meanwhile, additional trouble was caused by Weston's colony at Wessagussett (Weymouth), which was equally reduced by want of provisions, and first made pressing, and then threatening demands upon Plymouth for assistance. Governor Bradford wrote them to "live upon ground nuts and clams, as the people of Plymouth were doing."

The situation, in the spring of 1623, was particularly distressing. Meager crops, exhausted granaries, demands from their neighbors, had reduced this brave band of pilgrims to extreme want. There is no question about this state of affairs—it was so without any possibility of a doubt; but why was not their suffering alleviated by the taking of some of the fish with which the surrounding seas abounded, or game from the neighboring forests? Such sentences as these, from Winslow, come to mind when we think of these miseries. Writing, in 1623, he speaks of the climate, soil and productions of New England: "I will not again speak of the abundance of fowl, store of venison, and variety of fish in their seasons, which might encourage many to go in their persons." And Bradford, in 1623, describes the facility with which "bass & such like fish" were taken with nets.

Now what is the explanation of this great suffering for the lack of food during these first years? The pilgrims came from a land of fishermen to a land of fish. Can it be that there was a want of hooks, nets or seines?

* Barry's History of Massachusetts, p. 109.

† "It has been stated that they were at one time reduced to a single pint of corn, which, being divided, gave to each person five kernels, which were parched and eaten." In allusion to this tradition, at the bi-centennial celebration in 1820, "when much of the beauty, fashion, wealth, and talent of Massachusetts had congregated at Plymouth, and orators had spoken, and poets sang the praises of the Pilgrims; amidst the richest viands, which had been prepared to gratify the most fastidious epicure to satiety, five kernels of parched corn were placed beside each plate—a simple, but interesting and affecting memorial of the distresses of those heroic and pious men, who won this fair land of plenty and freedom and happiness, and yet, at times, were literally in want of a morsel of bread."—Barry's History of Massachusetts, p. 120.

There is but little said of any such lack—hardly enough to warrant a belief that that was the cause. Mourt has one allusion to such a need. In January: "As yet we had got but one cod; we wanted small hooks." * This rather indicates that they had hooks but needed some smaller ones. And what Winslow says in "Good News from New England," under date of June, 1622, only makes us wonder the more that they should have been so illy prepared to take what was so near at hand. After returning from his expedition to Monhegan for food, and describing the state in which he found the colonists, he says: "But here it may be said, if the country abound with fish and fowl in such measure as is reported, how could men undergo such measure of hardness, except through their own negligence? I answer, everything must be expected in its proper season. No man, as one saith, will go into an orchard in the winter to gather cherries; so he that looks for fowl there in the summer will be deceived in his expectation. The time they continue in plenty with us, is from the beginning of October to the end of March; but these extremities befell us in May and June. I confess, that as the fowl decrease, so fish increase. And indeed their exceeding abundance was a great cause of increasing our wants. For though our bay and creeks were full of bass and other fish, yet for want of fit and strong seines and other netting, they for the most part brake through, and carried all away before them. And though the sea were full of cod, yet we had neither tackling nor hawsers for our shallops. And indeed had we not been in a place, where divers sort of shell-fish are, that may be taken with the hand, we must have perished unless God had raised some unknown extraordinary means for preservation." Here we have a partial explanation; and we can but believe with Winslow, that men would not "undergo such measure of hardness, except through their own negligence." Bradford's "History" and Mourt's "Relation" are constantly testifying to the abundance of fish and game, and to the taking of the same. Possibly one lack of supply grew out of the comparatively few Indians then in the neighborhood, owing to their great decrease from the ravages of disease a few years before—yet Mourt speaks of being able to obtain supplies by means of the Indians.

But whatever the real reason of this suffering of the "hungry Pilgrims" may have been, it seems a little strange to us of this day, when we realize the fact that so near at hand was enough food to supply nations; that, in-

* Young, in his "Chronicles," commenting upon this, says: "This was a singular oversight. If they had had fish-hooks they could hardly have suffered so much for want of food." And Dexter's note upon the same passage is: "To this single circumstance much of their discomfort in regard to food was due."

deed, from the years long before Weymouth and Champlain, down to those of Plymouth, much of this staple food had been taken to other countries; that every expedition made to neighboring Indian or fishing station, ought to have given abundant relief; and, if lack of hook, net or fowling-piece did exist, and was the primal cause, were not the leaders and promoters very much at fault in neglecting so important a factor for the success of their pilgrimage?*



* Some of our students and historians of to-day have thought of this matter, and, although not giving a perfectly satisfactory explanation, now and then one has given sufficient thought to the subject to have a theory. Here is one from Professor Adams:

“JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, Feb. 18, 1885.

“DEAR MR. GOSS:

“I have always had the notion that the Pilgrim Fathers were either very poor fishermen or had poor luck. If you will read ‘Bradford’s History of Plymouth Plantation’ (Collections of Mass. Hist. Society, pp. 168, 197, 262), you will find him confessing that they usually had ill-luck fishing; it was ‘a thing fatal.’ My theory is that the Pilgrims, brought up as agriculturists and craftsmen, did not know much about sea-fishing. Bad bait and wrong hooks might account for bad luck. Undoubtedly the Pilgrims could have obtained plenty of clams and ‘small fry’ along their shores, but it is a well-known fact that people living by the sea get very sick of this sort of diet. It probably was for the Pilgrim Fathers what shad used to be for the hired men in the Connecticut Valley, who used to stipulate with their employer that they should not be obliged to eat that fish oftener than once a week!

“Truly yours,

“HERBERT B. ADAMS.”

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Interesting Unpublished Letters of Burgoyne.

Contributed by John S. H. Fogg, M. D.

Nov^r 12th 1777.

Burgoyne to Heath.

Sir,

No alteration having yet been made respecting the accomodation of the troops, you will not be surprised at the increase of my anxiety, and I am persuaded you will readily excuse the trouble it occasions you.

The time elapsed must have been sufficient to determine what the Government civil and military, is able or disposed to do, and I request from you, Sir, as speedy a communication as may be of their final decision.

On the part of the troops, I have to inform you, that the officers are ready to sign the parole proposed as soon as the terms necessarily previous to that obligation are fulfilled, and that proper explanation is given relative to some circumstances of the regulations. I am confident the latter are of a nature that will admit of no difficulty when laid before you.

Having intimated to you in my letter of yesterday my intention of not separating my lot from that of the army, I should not trouble you with any word at present upon the subject of quarters were it not that the arrival of my baggage and that of Maj: Genl: Phillips, and the present situation of it upon the Cambridge Common exposes any men destined to the care of it to great hardship in point of weather, and without a guard, I apprehend the security of our property would be small. The Houses you mentioned yesterday are so exceedingly inconvenient, the one in point of size, and the other in being deficient in every article or furniture, that to occupy either would make my condition worse than it is. The House of Mr Temple would certainly suit me, exceedingly well, and should the great essential matters of publick faith again take such a turn as might justify me in accepting a favour, I should certainly hold myself obliged to you for your good offices to procure me that particular quarter.

That nothing may be left undone by me to accommodate all the matters in agitation, I will desire M. Genl: Phillips to attend you tomorrow morning, if you approve of it, in order to discuss and regulate every point upon which difficulties have already arisen, or upon which they may be foreseen.

I have the honor to be with great personal regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient

Servant.

J. Burgoyne.

M: G: Heath.

*Burgoyne to Heath.*Dec^{ber} 16, 1777.

Sir,

I am obliged to you for your communication of the vote of the Congress : and as I conclude it may be held decisive, I beg the favour of you to pass a letter from me to General Pigott to desire the transports may sail for Boston the first fair wind. The letter shall be ready this afternoon, and, if you will have the kindness to dispatch it by an expeditious messenger I will readily pay the expense.

I send you the parole signed by the British Officers, the German one will be ready this afternoon. I have made a point to oblige you by leaving out all preamble and condition to the names, although the officers feel yet a disappointment in their quarters at Watertown.

I beg leave to remind you of the lists promised me of prisoners of war in this State, and likewise of the release of Cornet Grant an exchanged officer.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

Servant.

J. Burgoyne.

M : G : Heath.

*Burgoyne to Heath.*Cambridge, January 13th 1778.

Sir.

Having confined myself in the letter transmitted to you yesterday entirely to the prosecution of Colo : Henley, I have now to take notice of the other matters contained in your favour of the 10th Instant. You state Sir, that the insults and abuses offered to your troops have been unparalleled "unless you have been grossly misinformed." Consider the character and conduct of Colo : Henley, from whom I am to suppose your reports have come, and then say whether you have not reason to suspect misinformation. Nor is he the only person to impose upon you. Cambridge and Boston abound with ill designing men who propogate calumny in order to colour persecution. The whole air is contaminated with lies. Be aware Sir of such reporters. They are your enemies as well as mine : They strike at the character of your State. The difference of our conduct gives me a right to make this expostulation : when I complain I offer proof of the grievance. You recriminate upon hearsay.

You next inform me, Sir, that if it can be made appear that any of the Soldiers sent to the Guardships by your order are innocent they shall be released.

By what means shall we make innocence appear when men are dragged to imprisonment at a long distance and without any possibility of appeal or communication of their cases ?

In the present instance however, I take you at your word. Innocence shall appear and you shall be the judge. Eighteen men are under confinement for an insult in which *one* man alone was concerned ; this is an undisputed fact. It necessarily follows to Physical demonstration, that seventeen are innocent. Now show me upon what principle you detain them : implicitly avow the act : and refuse to make an apology.

You treat with singular contempt the idea that such of the troops of the Convention as break your orders ought to be tried and punished by mine. In the first place Sir, though *my* poor Military erudition must be brought to shame in your opinion I must avow that idea : and with all due respect to *your* erudition I must next request, that if you again quote my words you will do so without variation or emendation. I do contend that to commit offenders to the punishment of their own Officers in the first instance, and in every case that will allow it, is consonant to reason and justice. I do not mean to deny that if upon experience it was found we were partial in our Judgments, or in our punishments, you have a right to take justice into your hands : but you ought at the same time to remember that you make yourself responsible to God and man that the innocent do not suffer.

I do assure you it never was my intention to let drop the complaint for which you call upon me against your Officers for enlisting men into your service. I inclose you copies of agreement and a certificate of a muster master. I have the originals ready if you require them.

To the positive testimony in these few cases I could add the strongest circumstantial proof that till very lately the practice was publickly countenanced by your officers in general.

I add Sir, the cases of M^r. Dechambault and Cap^t. Swettenham as stated in letters to me and Maj Kingston, and the deposition of Lieut^t. Wilkinson concerning the assault committed on him on thursday last ; and I can collect many other enormities of the same sort.

I come now to the last paragraph of your letter in which you recapitulate and sum up all abuses, riots, rescues, insults, &c that you are informed have been committed by these troops, and you conclude with a suspicion of highway robbery. It might have been more decent Sir, to have left that insinuation to your Printers in Boston : and indeed it would have better answered your purpose : for I observe in the paper of yesterday it is not suspected, but boldly and positively asserted, that the robbery of Mr. Hopkins was by Three regular Soldiers. My answer to all this is, that most of the accusations are false : others are exaggerated : and none are countenanced by me. That there have been levities, indiscretions, faults of omission, of neglect, and of liquor, I am ready to believe : but I have never spared any efforts to correct them and they have been pretty well atoned by the beating, imprisonment, and death received at the hands of your people.

Upon the whole it is with satisfaction and pride I reflect that were all these complaints verified, and compounded into one mass, they still would not, from

their nature, weigh a feather in the estimation of Justice against the articles of grievance in the opposite scale.

I am Sir

Your most obedient
Servant.

M : G : Heath.

J. Burgoyne.

Superscription
To

M : General Heath

Burgoyne to Heath.

Cambridge Jany; 15th 1778.

Sir,

You will readily believe that it is as painful to me, as it can be troublesome to you, to find matter of complaint the continual subject of our correspondence. I am nevertheless under the necessity of laying before you two reports from the Commissary General of the Convention troops. I am persuaded you will take immediate measures to redress that which concerns the badness of Provisions, and I hope you will not spare a reprimand to your Commissary for making out an account, which I am confident you mean't to be genuine, clear, and conclusive, in a manner that will appear to any impartial person, as purposely ambiguous, and designed to leave an opening for disputes, and to create delays.

You will consider Sir, that in waiting for this account nine or ten days have been already lost since you consented to Mr. Clarke's journey to Sir William Howe. I will now reduce this matter to a very short compass : and have only to request that you will furnish me with the price demanded for the Ration supposing it to be paid in Gold or Silver, and likewise the price of the Cord of wood, Candles, and other articles, not belonging to the ration : and I am willing to leave the quantities received to be settled by the respective Commissaries at more leisure. As this cannot possibly require time, I beg the favour of you to prepare passports for M^r. Clarke to set out the day after tomorrow.

I return you my personal thanks for sending Captain Piper here, and assure you no improper use shall be made of that civility.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient
Servant.

M : Gen^l : Heath.

J. Burgoyne.

Endorsed.

From Gen^l : Burgoyne.
relative to y^e Com^y making
up the Acc^t. Mr. Clarke's
going off &c.

Jany : 15. 1778.

Kingston to Heath.

Cambridge Jany : 30th 1778.

Sir,

I am, at a loss to account for your putting a Field Officer of the British Service at so great a distance as to answer him by another hand. In Europe, letters from Gentlemen are answered by Men of the first Quality—even Princes in the most polished Courts observe this decorum—and the King of Prussia, whose Greatness will be remembered as long as history is read, answers himself the letters he receives *even* from his own subjects.

Am I to believe such a letter as your Secretary's could be approved of by a Gentleman in your station?

Accustomed to write with candor as well as freedom I stand upon the words of my letter—and despising all tortured "illiberal" constructions, must insist upon it that in *All Cases* of letters submitted for inspection (if they are not allowed to pass) there is an *implied faith* for their return.

Of this, Sir, You must be as much convinced as myself, or any Gentleman. There could be no ground of quarrell between L^t. Col : Kingston and M. Gen^l Heath, the "throwing dirt or wiping it off," I disdain as much as I do the expressions.

The honour of this Country is not impeached by me, with respect to our situation it is only concerned in keeping it's faith, and for the sake of thousands on both sides I hope it will never be affected in so delicate a point.

"Detection" of the contents of open letters does very little credit to Genius.—"Conviction" strained by the help of words that were never mine, from letters submitted for approbation or rejection, is an idea of Justice new indeed, and ought to be a stranger to the human Heart. "The Liberality customary in Europe" we are entitled to,—and I think, Sir, upon a candid reading of my letter of the 27th you will disclaim that very illiberal production of the Secretary

I am Sir,

P. S. You will please to observe the word "destitute" was none of mine but applied by the Secretary.

Your most obedient
humble Servant.
R^t Kingston

To M : Gen^l. Heath.

Endorsed,
From Col : Kingston
relative to M^r Loring's
ansuer to his Letter
&c. Jany : 30. 1778.

REPRINTS

CORRESPONDENCE OF WASHINGTON

EXTRACTS BY WILLIAM GORDON, THE HISTORIAN OF THE REVOLUTION

To the Editor of the Monthly Magazine.

SIR,

The following are extracts from letters of the late General Washington, to whose papers I had free access, when residing at his house for weeks, while procuring materials for the History of the American Revolution; and of some written to myself.

Yours,

W. GORDON

St. Neot's, April 14, 1800.

To Mr. Lund Washington, Mount-Vernon.

'November 26, 1775.

"Let the hospitality of the house, with respect to the poor, be kept up. Let no one go hungry away. If any of these kind of people should be in want of corn, supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage them in idleness. I have no objection to your giving my money in charity, when you think it well bestowed. What I mean by having no objection is, that it is my desire that it should be done. You are to consider, that neither myself nor my wife are now in the way to do these good offices.

"G. W."

In a Letter of Jan. 23, 1778, the General thus writes:

"I have attended to your information and remark, on the supposed intention of placing General L. [*meaning Lee*, before captivity] at the head of the army; whether a serious design of that kind had ever entered into the head of a member of Congress or not, I never was at the trouble of inquiring. I am told a scheme of that kind is now on foot by some, in behalf of another gentleman—but whether true or false, whether serious, or merely to try the pulse, I neither know nor care; neither interested nor ambitious views led me into the service—I did not solicit the command, but accepted it after much entreaty, with all that diffidence which a conscious want of ability and experience equal to the discharge of so important a trust, must naturally create in a mind not quite devoid of thought; and after I did en-

gage, pursued the great line of my duty, and the object in view (as far as my judgment could direct) as pointedly as the needle to the pole. So soon then as the public get dissatisfied with my services, or a person is found better qualified to answer her expectation, I shall quit the helm with as much satisfaction, and retire to a private station with as much content, as ever the weary pilgrim felt upon his safe arrival in the Holy-land, or haven of hope ;—and shall wish most devoutly that those who come after may meet with more prosperous gales than I have done, and less difficulty. If the expectation of the public has not been answered by my endeavours, I have more reasons than one to regret it ; but at present shall only add, that a day may come when the public cause is no longer to be benefited by a concealment of our circumstances ; and till that period arrives, I shall not be among the first to disclose such truths as may injure it."

" February, 1778.

" With far the greatest part of mankind interest is the governing principle. Almost every man is more or less under its influence. Motives of public virtue may for a time, or in particular instances, actuate men to the observance of a conduct purely disinterested ; but they are not of themselves sufficient to produce a persevering conformity to the refined dictates and obligations of social duty."

" August 20, 1778.

" It is not a little pleasing, nor less wonderful to contemplate, that after two years manœuvring, and undergoing the strangest vicissitudes that, perhaps, ever attended any one contest since the creation, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and that that which was the offending party, is now reduced to the use of the spade and pick-axe for defence. The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked that has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligations."

" November 14, 1778.

" The question of the Canada expedition, as it now stands, appears to me one of the most interesting that has hitherto agitated our national deliberations : I have one objection to it, untouched in my public letter, which is in my estimation insurmountable, and alarms all my feelings, for the true and permanent interests of my country.

" This is, the introduction of a large body of French troops into Canada, and putting them into the possession of the capital of that province ; attached to them by the ties of blood, habits, manners, religion, and former connection of government. I fear this would be too great a temptation to be resisted by any power actuated by the common maxims of national policy. Canada would be a solid acquisition to France on all accounts ; and because of the numerous inhabitants,

subjects to her by inclination, who would aid in preserving it under her power, against the attempt of every other, France, it is apprehended, would have it in her power to give law to these States. Let us suppose, that, when the five thousand troops (under the idea of that number twice as many might be introduced) were entered into the city of Quebec, they should declare an intention to hold Canada as a pledge and surety for the debts due to France from the United States. It is a maxim, founded on the universal experience of mankind, that no nation is to be trusted further than it is bound by its interest; and no prudent statesman or politician will venture to depart from it. If France should even engage in the scheme, in the first instance, with the purest intentions; invited by circumstances, she would alter her views.

"As the Marquis clothed his proposition, when he spoke of it to me, it would seem to originate wholly from himself; but it is far from impossible, that it had its birth in the cabinet of France, and was put into this artful dress to give it readier currency. I fancy I read in the countenance of some people, on this occasion, more than the disinterested zeal of allies. I hope I am mistaken, and that my fears of mischief make me refine too much, and awaken jealousies that have no sufficient foundation.

G. W."

I apprehend this was sent to some confidential member of Congress, and that the proposal of introducing French troops into Canada had been communicated to Congress by Fayette.

"April 22, 1779.

"To speak within bounds, ten thousand pounds will not compensate the loss I might have avoided by being at home, and attending a little to my own concerns. I am now receiving a shilling in the pound in discharge of bonds, which ought to have been paid me, and would have been realized before I left Virginia, but for my indulgence to the debtors. Alas! what is virtue come to, what a miserable change has four years produced in the tempers and dispositions of the sons of America! It really shocks me to think of it.

G. W."

The Monthly Magazine, Vol. IX. 545. London, July, 1800.

PETERSFIELD

MINOR TOPICS

THE SACKVILLE PAPERS

The English "Blue Books" have not, as a rule, much interest for American historical students. In the last report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, we came across a few interesting letters relating to America. Among the first of these is one from General Wolfe to Lord George Sackville, afterward Viscount Sackville, but better known to us as Lord George Germain—dated May, 1758, Halifax. General Wolfe complains of the great delays to which the expedition has been subjected. These delays were due, in his opinion, to the incapacity of the contractors, "the necessary effect of too much rum and money" upon the discipline of the troops. For example, he says that two sergeants were found drunk upon duty, "2 centuries upon their posts and the rest wallowing in the dirt; I believe no nation ever paid so many bad soldiers at so high a rate." Later on he says that their clothes, arms, accoutrements, nay even their shoes and stockings are all improper for this country. "Ld. Howe," he adds, "is so well convinced of it that he has taken away all the men's breeches." What he had substituted is not told. In another letter, after describing the siege and capture of Louisburg, he writes: "Our troops scalped an Indian Sachem the day we landed, and have killed some few of the black tribe since." Wolfe's opinion of the Colonial militia may be gathered from the following, which is the last extract we shall make from his letters: "The Americans are in general the dirtiest most contemptible cowardly dogs that you can conceive. There is no depending upon 'em in action. They fall down dead in their own dirt and desert by batalions, officers and all. Such rascals as these are rather an incumbrance than any real strength to an army."

The next batch of documents relating to America consists of letters to and from Lord George Germain, written during the Revolutionary war, some of which are of considerable value, as they give an inside view of the causes of the dilatory manner of conducting the war on the part of the British. In one of these Admiral Arbuthnot, writing during the siege of Charleston, says that he fears Cornwallis will be unable to restrain the rapacity of his troops in their march up country. It was rumored that "the gentlemen of the army had proposed to those of the navy a division of such effects as may be found in the country in certain proportions." Arbuthnot thought this would be subversive of all discipline, but Sir Henry Clinton, then Commander-in-chief, was "so warm at times" that he could not introduce the subject properly. So he "washed his hands of the whole business." Sir Henry was not backward in his complaints against the worthy admiral, and declared the "absolute necessity of either removing him or of sending a new com-

mander of the squadron without delay." While this correspondence was at its height Admiral Rodney, commanding a squadron in the West Indies, arrived in New York. Arbuthnot immediately opened fire on him for what he called his "presumptuous interference in my command," and he "intreats his lordship [Lord George Germain] to add his voice to the check it is necessary for the public service this officer should receive; because his spirit inflamed by good fortune and unguided by reason, drives at the subversion of all order and all discipline." Rodney proceeded to refit his fleet at New York, using the stores, etc., which Arbuthnot had collected. The latter complaining of this "most wanton unprecedented [*sic*] abuse of power" as he called it, ended by asking to be relieved, as the "complicated labor of this command is too much for me at my advanced age, 68, near 55 years in active service." Either his advanced years or his projected retirement saved Arbuthnot from Rodney's wrath. But he fell heavily upon Clinton. "I could not help declaring to him," says Rodney, "that if his Majesty's service called me again to America, if affairs were not carried on with more alacrity and a quicker decision, it would be impossible for us to agree, for that I came to act and not to amuse myself with the diversions of New York; that I owned myself hurt at his permitting the officers of the army to act plays at a season when their arms might have been employed against the public enemy. Nothing could induce me to go to them. I gave my reason that I was unwilling to have it reported in England that I was diverting myself with the amusements of New York instead of doing my duty in suppressing the infamous rebellion of his Majesty's deluded subjects, who, in my opinion, should be allowed no breathing time, but pushed to the last extremity." Perhaps it was fortunate for us that Rodney and men of his stamp were not appointed to high commands in North America.

"It may be said Rodney was jealous of Clinton and the other Northern commanders." This may be true, although it is not probable, as he bore as hard on the officers of his own fleet as he did on Clinton. Indeed not long before he had written, "No man under my command, my own captain excepted, deserves praise. No one obeyed my signal or orders. * * * Those whose behavior was so gross as to fall within reach of my own eye during the battle are now to be tried, but if all those who through error of judgment, inattention to signals and orders were to be tried, where could I have found judges?"

The only thing which makes us doubt Rodney's judgment is an assertion in one of these letters that "Washington is certainly to be bought—honours will do it." It would be curious to know if this was the general opinion of the British army in New York in 1780.

In short, this collection of papers, many of which are marked "Private" or "Most Secret," deserves the careful attention of the future historian of the American Revolution.

EDWARD CHANNING.

HARVARD COLLEGE.

POCAHONTUS AND CAPTAIN SMITH

A REMINISCENCE

Since writing the note on Wingfield's "Discourse of Virginia," Boston, 1860—in which I called in question, for the first time, Captain John Smith's story of his own rescue by Pocahontus—and the notes to the new edition of Smith's "True Relation," Boston, 1866, on the same theme, I have never written a line on the subject for publication. I had no idea at the time that the matter would excite so much interest as it has. Much has been written during the last twenty-five years on both sides the question. Some of the criticisms which early met my eye by Southern writers opposed to my view, were temperate in spirit and excellent in taste; but I sometimes felt that the authors of them were not fully informed on the subject of which they wrote: that the bibliography of the case had not been mastered. On the other hand, several newspaper articles which were sent to me were discourteous and passionate in tone, while others were personally abusive.

"Is it not enough," asks one journal, "that the ruthless Yankee has devastated our fields and ruined our homes and slain our children? Must he also despoil the tomb? Will he not rest until he has rifled our very history of its choicest traditions, and stolen the brightest jewels of our romance?" One writer stigmatized this ruthless Northern vandal by comparing him to General Butler.

Some persons felt that in calling in question Smith's story I had attacked the character of Pocahontus herself, forgetting that this innocent and doubtless interesting child of ten years of age, as she first appeared to our hero, never claimed at that time or at any other to have rendered Captain Smith this service.

My own original notes, above referred to, were sufficiently dry and uninteresting to the general reader. They were such as a Doctor Dry-as-Dust might work up for his own amusement. The note on Wingfield's "Discourse," however, had early attracted the notice of Mr. Henry Adams, then in London as private secretary to his father, the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, American Minister, and it so far interested him that he examined the subject of it independently, for himself, by aid of the books in the British Museum; and the result was an elaborate paper by him published in the *North American Review* for January, 1867. This was an admirable presentation of the whole question, giving a comparison of Smith's earlier and later statements throughout in a very effective manner, and showing how little reliance could be placed on the redoubtable captain as a truthful narrator of events, particularly in his later works, where his vanity and strong love of the marvelous disposed him to garnish the stories of his early adventures. Mr. Adams's paper was probably more extensively read than my notes.

This matter lies in a nut-shell. It is a case of Captain John Smith *versus* Captain John Smith; or Captain John Smith and all contemporary evidence, *versus* Captain John Smith's later stories. It is very much the case of Hennepin *versus*

Hennepin. Seeing that the case stands thus in all its nakedness, some writers have tried to make it appear that the original manuscript of the little black letter tract, "A True Relation"—probably contained the story of the rescue, but that it was deemed politic by the authorities in London to suppress it, and that it was left out in the publication—the writer of the preface admitting that something more was written which he thought "fit to be private" and omitted it. If there had been facts narrated in the letter, the publication of which would damage the colony by preventing colonization, or in any other way, they would, one would think, have been *silently* omitted, so that no questions would be asked. One reason given for the suppression of such an incident is the revelation it would give of the dangerous character of the Indians who surrounded the colony, which would discourage emigration. Why, then, was the full account which Smith gives in that letter of several conflicts with their savage foe printed—*e. g.*, the attack on the fort at Jamestown and its near surprise by four hundred Indians; the killing of his two men in the canoe on the Chicahominy, while on a peaceful search for supplies; the attack on himself by two hundred of Pamounkey's men, where he barely escaped with his life; and his own final capture?

The rescue episode would have been, on the other hand, a revelation of humanity not to be overlooked. It would have been the richest incident to be made public for promoting colonization. All the idle and romantic young men about London would have rushed for the colony. Shakespeare would have had a new plot for a drama more fascinating than the play of the *Tempest*.

But it is amusing to see the ingenuity shown in pointing out the exact place in the narrative where the incident belonged, and which was omitted by the politic editor. A hiatus is discovered where none should exist. However perfect and well-fitting may have been the joints in the armor of Captain Smith, it is certain that there are serious defects in the connecting links which join together the sentences of his "True Relation." I have already, in the reprint of that book, pointed out many places where a judicious critic could have rendered excellent service to the printer in mending the broken, half-finished and half-punctuated sentences, and in separating paragraphs which had no connection with each other.

But this little black letter volume itself, a copy of which is now lying before me, contains within its pages the evidence that, whatever may have been omitted from Captain Smith's letter, it was not the story of the rescue by Pocahontus. On the *verso* of leaf E 3—the book is unpagged—or on page 72 of the reprint of 1866, will be found a passage introducing Pocahontus to the reader for the first time, long after Smith had returned safely to Jamestown from his captivity among the Indians,—

"Powhatan, understanding we detained certain savages, sent his daughter, a child of ten years old, which not only for feature, countenance and proportion, much exceedeth any of the rest of his people, but for wit and spirit the only Nonpareil of his country: this he sent by his most trusty messenger, called Rawhunt,

as much exceeding in deformity of person, but of a subtile wit and crafty understanding; he with a long circumstance told me how well Powhatan loved and respected me, and in that I should not doubt any way of his kindness he had sent his child, which he most esteemed, to see me, a deer and bread besides for a present: desiring me that the boy might come again which he loved exceedingly. His little daughter he had taught this lesson also; not taking notice at all of the indians that had been prisoners three days till that morning that she saw their fathers and friends come quietly and in good terms to entreat their liberty."

If there had been an elaborate story of Smith's rescue by Pocahontas while a prisoner with Powhatan, in the earlier part of the book, all this introduction and personal description of the young child near its close would have been as unnecessary as it would have been unnatural to the most unpracticed writer.

In conclusion, allow me to add that Smith's "True Relation," or "Newes from Virginia," its running title, was a private letter to a friend, not addressed to nor published by the Virginia Council in London. It was passed round in manuscript from hand to hand, till it finally fell to one who says he happened upon it "by chance, as I take it at the second or third hand," and being "induced thereunto by divers well willers of the action, and none wishing better towards it than myself," he "thought good to publish it," though then ignorant of the writer.

CHARLES DEANE.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., *April* 5, 1885.

POLITICAL AMERICANISMS *

VI

(Continued from page 395, vol. xiii.)

UPPER HOUSE.—The Senate, National, or State. First used officially in Massachusetts in 1718. (See Drake's History of Boston, p. 558.) "Lower House," as applied to the more popular branch of legislature, originated at the same time.

VENDUE.—(French *vendu*, sold.) A shameless assignment of offices to the highest bidders. In a non-political sense the word was used as early as 1754 in Pennsylvania. (Mittelberger's Travels, p. 22.)

WAGON BOY.—The popular nickname of the Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio. In his youth he earned his living by driving a team on a Kentucky farm.

WAR CRIES.—The presidential campaign of 1884 saw the introduction of a species of political war-cry not previously in vogue. It was based on the well-known habit of drill-sergeants in marking time for a squad of recruits, to enable them to march in step. He calls out as the respective feet touch the ground: "Left—left—left—right—left!" the pauses between Nos. 1, 2, and 3, being twice as long as those between 3, 4, and 5. It is believed that the idea of calling out "Blaine—Blaine—James—G—Blaine" in this cadenced measure, originated in a Republican meeting in New York, where in a pause between speeches, a party of Columbia College students began stamping in cadence after the manner of the "gallery gods" during too long an intermission at the play. Some one started the Blaine cry, the idea took instantly, the whole assembly followed suit, and when the meeting was over, the crowd formed an impromptu procession and marched in step to its own music. These war-cries proved a conspicuous feature of the campaign. Both parties invented five-footed sentences, and distiches, and the *esprit* of great

processions everywhere was increased tenfold by these cadenced sing-song cries, which almost compelled men to march in step, and kept up the excitement as nothing else could have done. They even assumed a threatening character during the days immediately following the election, when the result was still in doubt, and might easily have become war-cries in earnest, had the suspense continued a little while longer. During this campaign too, the peculiar student cheer, (Rah—Rah—Rah) instead of the old-time and more formal "Hurra" three times repeated, was for the first time generally used in political ranks. So, too, was the custom, also borrowed from the colleges, of spelling some catch-word in unison, as for instance "S O A P!" the separate letters being pronounced in perfect time by several hundred voices at once.

WAR HORSE.—A term likely to be applied to any energetic political worker. It is used descriptively as well as in an honorable sense. The combinations in which this occurs are too numerous for specification, but one may be cited as peculiarly effective phonetically: "The War Horse of the Shawangunk" (pronounced "Shongum," a range of mountains in Northern New Jersey.)

WHIGS.—The colonial period of American history knew two parties—Whigs and Tories—and these in their pre-revolutionary form are hardly entitled to recognition in strictly national politics. They were merely importations, and men belonged to one party or the other, according to the predilections of their forefathers in the mother-land. When, however, the disturbing questions arose which led to the Revolution, party lines became marked for local causes, the Whigs, as a general thing, declaring for independence, while the Tories remained loyal to

* Copyright by Charles Ledyard Norton, 1885.

the crown, or at most, favored passive resistance. After independence was achieved "Tory" ceased to be recognized as a party name, and was popularly used only as a term of opprobrium. The Whigs survived, but shortly divided on the then young State's rights question into "Particularists" and "Strong Government Whigs." The first were, to adopt modern phraseology, "State-rights men," while the others favored centralization. These last subsequently adopted the less awkward title of Federalists (*q. v.*), and the Whig name temporarily disappeared, to be revived in 1820, when it at once commanded a considerable following, but was not strong enough to achieve success until 1848, when it elected General Zachary Taylor to the presidency, defeating the Democrats for the first time in nearly half a century. Their last appearance on the political battle-field was in the campaign of 1852, but there are still living old Whigs who fondly cherish the memory of what was once a "grand old party."

WHITE LEAGUE.—An organization formed at the South in 1874 to check the growth of political power among the negroes.

WHISKEY RING.—A ring of whiskey dealers who, through the connivance of Government officials, were enabled to evade the revenue laws and amass large fortunes. The ring was temporarily broken up in 1875.

WHIP-SAWING.—The acceptance of fees or bribes from two opposing persons or parties. It is believed to have originated in the New York State Assembly, and is evidently derived from the whip-saw of mechanics, which cuts both ways.

WHIP OR WHIPPER-IN.—An English sporting term adopted into the political vocabulary of both countries. The duty of the "whip" is to see that the members of the party attend to their duty as voters or legislators.

WIDE-AWAKES.—During the first Lincoln campaign (1860) torch-light processions were as popular as they are now. One of these was ordered by the Republicans of Hartford, Conn., and some of the participants, clerks in a large dry-goods establishment, provided themselves with capes and caps of glazed cloth to protect their clothing from the torch-drippings. The marshal of the occasion, having an eye for uniformity, collected these men and placed them at

the head of the line, where they attracted much notice. The idea was at once taken up by "Wide-Awake" Republicans; all the local clubs were uniformed, other towns and States followed suit, and in a surprisingly short time the Northern States were mustered in the Wide-Awake ranks. The organization and drill was semi-military, and many a soldier who subsequently fought in the Union cause thus received his first training. The Democrats caught up the idea, and organized clubs called "Little Giants" (*q. v.*) on a similar plan, in honor of their candidate, the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas. These also served as training-schools for Northern soldiers. The name Wide-awake was as early as 1853 applied to the Know-Nothings (*q. v.*), and the light-colored soft felt hats, which they were supposed to wear, were termed "wide-awake hats."

WIGWAM.—Primarily an Indian word meaning a cabin or hut. The Tammany Society of Philadelphia called its place of meeting a wigwam as early as 1789, and during the Harrison campaign (see "Log Cabin," etc.), log cabins were used as campaign meeting places under the same name. As early as 1859-60 huge buildings of rough boards were erected for political purposes in large towns, and the practice has been kept up ever since. These, too, are known as wigwams.

WILMOT PROVISION.—A measure introduced into Congress by David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, in 1846, absolutely excluding slavery from the new territories then about to be acquired from Mexico. The measure was debated at great length, and finally suffered defeat, but the agitation led to the first formation of the "Free Soil" party (*q. v.*).

WIRE-PULLER.—The unsuspected political manager who causes events to take place, as does the operator of a Punch and Judy show, himself being invisible, and the machinery concealed.

YOUNG HICKORY.—Martin Van Buren was so called because the political mantle of "Old Hickory" (Jackson) was said to have fallen upon his shoulders.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

BOBOLITION, BOBOLITIONIST, ETC.—The *Nation*, in pointing out the omission of the above

derivative nickname from Part I. of Political Americanisms, said that it was in use as early as 1838. The statement called out the following letter from Mr. E. J. Stearns, of Easton, Md.:

Bobolition, if not *Bobolitionist*, was in use much earlier. At least as early as 1824 I saw the word on a broadsheet containing what purported to be an account of a bobolition celebration at Boston, July 14. At the top of the broadsheet was a grotesque procession of negroes. Among the toasts or sentiments were the following:

"Massa Wilberforce, de brack man bery good friend; may he nebber want a bolish to he boot.

"De Nited State; de land ob libity, 'cept he keep slave at de South. No cheer! Shake de head!

"Dis year, de fourth ob July come on the fifth; so, ob course, the fourteenth come on de fifteenth."

It is by this last that I fix the date. During my boyhood (*pueritia* in the limited application) there were but three years in which "the fourth of July came on the fifth." It was certainly not on the first of these; I was too young then. It may have been on the second; but it was probably on the last.

DOUGHFACE.—In 1838 the Democratic Congressmen from the Northern States decided in caucus in favor of a resolution requiring all petitions relating to slavery to be laid upon the table without debate. This identified the party as it then existed with the slave-holding interest, and its Northern representatives were stigmatized as "dough-faces." (Thurlow Weed's *Memoirs*, II. 427.) I am further indebted to Mr. W. P. Garrison for the following reference.

George Bradburn (of Massachusetts), in a political speech in Ohio (in 1856?) said, of "the baser sort of Northern demagogues," that John Randolph—"The caustic Virginian, in his Congressional seat, branded them as 'Doe-faces.' I am not sure but we have dulled the point of that pungent epithet by changing its original orthography. Randolph spelt the word, D-O-E face, in allusion to the timid startled look of that animal, which is said to shrink from the reflection of its own face in the water."

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(*Memorial of George Bradburn*,) Boston, 1883, p. 134.

"When that scornful Roanoke artist placed his branding-iron on the base brows of this whole race of demagogues, he exclaimed, in slow, sharp, quaint intonations of voice so peculiarly his own—'It is not in our own strength that we of the South have always conquered you of the North. We have done it by using your own Doughfaces (*sic*) Your Doughfaces! (*sic*) They are dirty dogs. They will eat dirty pudding.'"

(*Ibid.*, p. 138).

MORGAN, MORGANIZED, ETC.—A descendant of Mr. Thurlow Weed has kindly called the author's attention to what is doubtless the only authentic version, alike of Morgan's disappearance and of the famous saying which was somewhat guardedly cited in the earlier pages of this glossary. In his autobiography (Vol. I., p. 319), Mr. Weed says: "The election of 1827 elicited an accusation against me, which assumed proportions not dreamed of by those with whom it originated. * * * Ebenezer Griffin, Esq., one of the council of the 'Kidnappers,' who was going to Batavia to conduct the examination, observed laughingly to me, 'After we have proven that the body found at Oak Orchard is that of Timothy Monroe, what will you do for a Morgan?' I replied in the same spirit, 'That is a good enough Morgan for us until you bring back the one you carried off.'" On the following day the "*Rochester Daily Advertiser*," gave what became the popular version of the story—namely that Mr. Weed had declared that whatever might be proven, the body "was a good enough Morgan until after the election."

In concluding, for the time at least, this collection of Political Americanisms, the author desires gratefully to acknowledge the valuable suggestions which he has received from various quarters. Many of these he hopes to use in further expanding a glossary which is necessarily incomplete in its present form, and he will thankfully receive any additional facts, or contributions which may come within the knowledge of his readers.

CHARLES LEDYARD NORTON.

THE END.

NOTES

TRIBUTE TO WASHINGTON — The Honorable Robert C. Winthrop concludes his eloquent oration on the completion of the National Monument to Washington in these words: "Our matchless obelisk stands proudly before us to-day, and we hail it with the exultations of a united and glorious nation. It may or may not be proof against the cavils of critics, but nothing of human construction is proof against the casualties of time. The storms of winter must blow and beat upon it. The action of the elements must soil and discolor it. The lightnings of Heaven may scar and blacken it. An earthquake may shake its foundations. Some mighty tornado or resistless cyclone may rend its massive blocks asunder and hurl huge fragments to the ground. But the character which it commemorates and illustrates is secure. It will remain unchanged and unchangeable in all its consummate purity and splendor, and will more and more command the homage of succeeding ages in all regions of the earth.

GOD BE PRAISED, THAT CHARACTER IS OURS FOREVER!"

FRANKLIN'S INFLUENCE—La Science du Bonhomme Richard ou le chemin de la fortune. Tel qu'il est Clairement indiqué dans un vieil Almanach de Pensylvanie intitulé: L'Almanach du bonhomme Richard. Imprimé au Collège de Tungwen. Peking, 1884. [18 leaves. French version, pp. 1-15. Chinese version, 9 leaves.]

The influence of Benjamin Franklin having coursed through the economical systems of his own country and Europe

is now, by means of his own craft, communicated through the College of Tungwen in the translation indicated above for the purposes of China. The tiny volume is another article to be added to the already rich Franklin bibliography.

It indicates that the French, who keep Poor Richard's Maxims in print, are acting as colporteurs for our most distinctive tract, even when it has ceased to have currency, save as a *curio*, at home.

T. F. D.

A CONNECTICUT NEGRO—Run away from Abraham Davenport, of Stamford in Connecticut, the 4th of June Instant, a Mulatto Man Slave, named Vanhall, aged 31 Years, about 5 feet 4 or five inches high, very swarthy; has a small Head and Face, a large Mouth, and has an odd Action with his Head when talking with any Person; has very long Arms and large Hands, for a Person of his Size, and has an old Countenance for one of his Age; his Hair like others of the Kind, was but lately cut off; was brought up to the Farming Business; is a lively active Fellow, and pretends to understand the Violin; Had on when he went away, a Felt Hat, a grey cut Wig, a light homespun Flannel lappelled Vest, which had been lined with fine old Cotton and Linnen Ticken, Doeskin Breeches; he took several Pairs of Stockings, and one or two pair of Shoes, a Violin, and a small Hatchet, &c., and 'tis probable he might change his Cloaths. Whoever takes up and secures said Mulatto, so that his Master may have him again, shall receive Five Dollars Reward, and reasonable charges paid, by Abraham

Davenport.—*N. Y. Mercury*, July 28, 1760.

PETERFIELD

THE OLD BARRACKS AT TRENTON—William S. Stryker, the Adjutant-General of New Jersey, writes: "The erection of these barracks commenced on the 31st day of May, 1758, and the work was pushed on so rapidly that we find more than one-half the building filled with soldiers on the 6th of November following. It was, however, not fully completed until March, 1759, as appears by an inscription on the building. Built in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the fear of the Indian knife and tomahawk raised a great alarm among the people of (New Jersey) King George the Second, its halls filled twenty years later with the tramp of the patriot soldier who had enlisted to deliver his country to a foreign power, or noisy with the revels of the hireling grenadier, who for gold was trying to subjugate a people determined to be free, it is to-day, in this year of peace, the quiet retreat of the aged, worn with the toils and trials of three-score years and ten."

VALUABLE RELICS—Among the many valuable and unique relics in the historical rooms of General R. W. Judson, of this place, is a captain's commission to John Tibbitts, dated July 6, 1767, signed by Stephen Hopkins, then Governor of Rhode Island.

It is under the old English seal, and was issued three years before the "Boston Massacre," six years before the great "Boston Tea Party," eight years before the first gun of the Revolution was

fired, and nine years before the old patriot signed his name to the great Declaration. It closes as follows: "Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Colony aforesaid, the Sixth Day of July, in the Seventh Year of His Majesty's Reign, 1767. STEP. HOPKINS. By His Honor's Command.

HENRY WARD, Secr'y."

S. A.

OGDENSBURG, N. Y., April 2, 1885

THE GOOD OLD DAYS—A Scarlet Coloured Umberalla, considerably faded, but not half worn, left by a Lady about 4 weeks ago, at some house not recollected: Any person who will return the same to the subscriber, living in Smith Street, to whom it belongs, will receive her hearty thanks, or any other reasonable recompence.

CATH. VAN DYKE

New York, June 29, 1774.

W. K.

THE CLEVELAND FAMILY—The poem on "Family Blood" in *The Poets of Connecticut*, by Rev. Aaron Cleveland, great-grandfather of the President, begins:

"Four kinds of blood flow in my veins,
And govern, each in turn, my brains.
From Cleveland, Porter, Sewall, Waters,
I had my parentage in quarters.
My father's father's names I know,
And further back no doubt might go."

If, in prophetic vision, the poet could have foreseen the famous volumes by Chancellor Walworth, *The Genealogy of the Hyde Family*, he would have hastened to add that name to his family record.

For the information of those who know that their own families are in that work, yet who, from its rarity, have not easy access to its pages, this is written :

The generations of President Grover Cleveland, as given by Chancellor Walworth, are : 1. William Hyde, one of the first settlers of Norwich, Connecticut, in 1660. His son, 2. Samuel Hyde, m. Jane Lee. His son, 3. John Hyde, m. (1698) Experience Abel. His son, 4. Capt. James Hyde, m. (1743) Sarah Marshall. His daughter, 5. Abiah Hyde, m. (1768) Rev. Aaron Cleveland (son of Rev. Aaron Cleveland and Susannah Porter). His son, 6. William Cleveland, m. (1793) Margaret Falley. His son, 7. Richard Falley Cleveland, m. (1820) Anne Neale, of whose children are, 8. Grover Cleveland and Rose Elizabeth. The record shows that all the descendants of William Hyde of Norwich are cousins, more or less remote, of President Cleveland ; as are also all of the Lee blood who descend from Thomas Lee, father of Jane, who married Samuel Hyde of the second generation. The immediate branch to which the writer belongs, through the Griswolds and Lords, comes seven times from the same Hyde and Lee ancestors.

Those of the Hyde and Lee descent, who are of the President's political party, may therefore congratulate themselves on their kinship. Those who are *not* may comfort themselves with the knowledge that the President's sisters are on their side. May they not also hope that the constant influence of the one who presides over the President's household, a highly educated, clear-minded woman,

accustomed to take an active part in public interests, may be "a power behind the throne" to soften party prejudices, and radiate a healthful influence for the general good ?

EVELYN MCCURDY SALISBURY

BILL OF SALE OF NEGRO WOMAN, in possession of William Edward Dean, LL.B., Fishkill, New York : "Know All Men by these Presents, That I, Thomas Jonour Merchant of the Island of Bermudus—for and in Confideration of the Sum of Fourty Pounds lawful Money of the Province of New York to me in hand paid by the widow peter reamect m^cchant of New York—whereof I hereby acknowledge the Receipt, and my self therewith fully satisfied

Have bargained, sold and delivered unto the faid widow peter reamect of New York a young negro woman about seventeen or eighteen years of age called adigon—To have and to hold the faid bargained Premises unto the faid widow peter reamect of New York her heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns, To the only proper use and behoove of the faid widow Peter reamect her heirs Executors, Administrators and Assigns forever.

And I the faid Thomas Jonour m^{cht} of Bermudus for my self, Executors and Administrators the faid bargained premises unto the faid widow Peter reamect her heirs Executors, Administrators and Assigns againft all Perfons fhall and will warrant, and forever Befend by these Presents. In witness whereof I have hereunto fet my Hand and Seal this twenty six Day of november in the fourth

Year of His Majesties Reign Annoq ;
Domini 1705.

Tho. Jonour L.S.

Sealed and Delivered in
the Prefence of us,
Thomas Bayeux,
John Auboyneau
Benjamin Tharriette.

*Copied word for word and letter for
letter.*

W. E. DEAN

GENIUS OF WILLIS—Mr. Henry A. Beers, in his recently issued work on N. P. Willis, says: "His genius, such as it was, was frankly external. His bright fancy played over the surface of things. His curiosity and his senses demanded gratification. He needed stir, change, adventure. He was always turning his own experiences to account, and the more crowded his life was with the impressions from outside, the more vivid his page. He had the artist's craving for luxury, and was fond of quoting a saying of Godwin: 'A judicious and limited voluptuousness is necessary to the cultivation of the mind, to the polishing of the manners, to the refining of the sentiment, and to the development of the understanding.' This taste for the sumptuous had been starved in Willis at home. Not only were literature and society in America far more provincial then than now, but life was plainer in every way. The rapid growth of wealth had obliterated the most striking contrasts between cities like New York and Boston, on the one hand, and cities like London and Paris, on the other. In every foreign capital nowadays one finds his simple republican compatriots grumbling at the absence

of American conveniences, cursing the steamboats, the railway carriages, the hotels, the luggage system, the portable baths, and bed-room candles, and proclaiming loudly that the Americans are the most luxurious people on the face of the earth. In Europe, and especially in England, circumstances threw Willis into a new world. He shared for a time in the life of the titled aristocracy and the idle rich, and he took to it like one to the manor born. He was at home at once amid all that gay ease and leisure. The London Clubs, the parks, the great country houses, Almack's, and the Row, the beautiful haughty women, the grace, indolence, and refinement, hereditary for generations, seemed no more than the birthright of this New England printer's son, from which some envious fairy had hitherto shut him out."

MONTREAL A SOCIAL CENTER—Dr. Francis Parkman, writing of Montreal in 1757, says: "Montreal, the military heart of Canada, was in the past winter its social center also, where were gathered conspicuous representatives both of Old France and of New; not men only, but women. It was a sparkling fragment of the reign of Louis XV. dropped into the American wilderness. Montcalm was here with his staff and his chief officers, now pondering schemes of war, and now turning in thought to his beloved château of Candiach, his mother, children and wife, to whom he sent letters with every opportunity. To meet his manifold social needs, he sends to his wife orders for prunes, olives, anchovies, muscat wine, capers, sausages, confectionery, cloth for liveries, scent bags of two kinds, and perfumed pomatum for presents, closing in

postscript with an injunction not to forget a dozen pint-bottles of English lavender. When Rigaud was about to march with his detachment against Fort William Henry, Montcalm went over to La Prairie to see them. 'I reviewed them,' he writes to Bourlamaque, 'and gave the officers a dinner. There were two tables, for thirty-six persons in all. On Wednesday there was an assembly at Madame Varin's: on Friday the Chevalier de Lévis

gave a ball. He invited sixty-five ladies, and got only thirty, with a great crowd of men; and the company staid till seven in the morning. As for me, I went to bed early. I had had that day eight ladies at a supper given to Madame Varin. Tomorrow I shall have half a dozen at another supper, given to I do not know whom, but incline to think it will be La Roche Beaucour. The gallant chevalier is to give us still another ball.' "

QUERIES

FRENCH FORT AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN—Was there ever such a fort? By what author is one mentioned? On what maps is such a fortification recorded?

JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, WIS.

REV. JACOB JOHNSON—This clergyman, born Groton, Connecticut, in 1713, removed to Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, 1773, and died there in 1797. He graduated Yale College, 1740. Previous to his removal to Pennsylvania, he was a missionary among the Oneida Indians in New York State. In O'Callaghan's Documentary History of New York, IV., 390, *et seq.*, his name occurs signed to various letters, thus: "Jacob W^S. Johnson," and "Jacob W.S. Johnson." The original letters and signatures have been compared with his letters and signatures written while in Pennsylvania, and found

to be identical. But the letters *W S* occur in his name only during his stay as missionary at Fort Stanwix, about 1768. Can any one explain the meaning of these letters? Were they inserted to distinguish him from any other minister of the same name in these parts, or were they a designation of any peculiar office?

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

WILKESBARRE, PA.

ROGER WILLIAMS—I should be glad to learn through the columns of your valuable Magazine, or otherwise, the date and place of birth of Roger Williams, when married and to whom; and the names of his children with date of birth, and to whom married, if practicable? Any other facts will be appreciated.

E. E. BOWER

BOX 205, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

REPLIES

BEDLOW'S ISLAND—*A curious blunder in Orthography* [xiii. 406]—It is not easy to explain "how, why, or when the final W in this well known name was changed into an o or oe;" and until

the miscreant who did not know how to spell (probably some government clerk), makes a full confession, the inquirer. "A. B. E." will hardly be able to locate the responsibility of the curious blunder,

The reason that it is perpetuated is simply because public attention has never been called to the fact. Now that the island is to become famous, the authorities will undoubtedly see the wisdom of correcting so glaring an error. The conveyances of the property from time to time during the last two hundred and twenty-five years, are mute witnesses to the strength and importance of the final w. After the death of the first proprietor of Bedlow's Island, Isaac Bedlow, his children, Isaac Bedlow, Sarah Burger, Catharine Hassarden, and Mary Smith, "agreed by instrument of writing bearing date the 29th December, 1693," to divide the estate equally. In course of years Mary Smith, one of the daughters, by inheritance and purchase, became legally possessed of the whole island; and on the 9th August, 1732, conveyed her entire estate to two trustees—Adolph Philipse and Henry Lane. In 1746, Adolph Philipse, the surviving trustee, conveyed Bedlow's Island to Archibald Kennedy, for the consideration of £100. In 1750, 10th February, John Cruger, mayor, we find it "Ordered, that Aldermen Livingston and Lisenard, do immediately wait upon Archibald Kennedy, Esq., and purchase of him for this corporation the island commonly called Bedlow's Island, for any sum not exceeding £1000, in order to erect a Pest house thereon." In 1769, September 6, it was "Ordered that Evert Pell occupy Bedlow's Island during pleasure of the Corporation." In 1786, 30th January, it was "Ordered that the Treasurer let out Bedlow's Island."

The most important record of that century, however, is under the date of 1794, 21st April, Richard Varick, Mayor:

"Bedlow's Island granted to the State of New York for the purpose of erecting fortifications. When no longer used as a fortification to revert back to the Corporation." The correct orthography is Bedlow.

EDITOR

A REVOLUTIONARY RELIC [xiii. 281 and 407]—This sermon, said to have been preached by the Rev. Joab Trout on the eve of the battle of Brandywine, is printed in the *Collections of Historical Society of Pennsylvania* for May, 1851, also in *Headley's Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution*. These differ from each other and from the copy published in the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, xiii. 281. It is a fraud; there was no such person as the Rev. Joab Trout. It bears the ear-marks of George Lippard. I. C. ALLEGHENY, PA.

THE LEADEN PLATE—As a bit of evidence regarding the "Leaden plate" referred to by Mr. Horace Edwin Hayden, in the August, 1884, number of the *Magazine* [xii. 182], I would submit the following letter, the original of which is in my possession:—Sir: Your favor of 22d inst. I have received, and am glad you are of the same opinion with me in relation to Indian Affairs. I send you a Copy of an Inscription on a leaden Plate, stolen from Jean Cœur some months since in the Seneca's Country, as he was going to the River Ohio, which plainly demonstrates the French Scheme by the exorbitant claims therein mentioned, also a Copy of a Cayuga Sachim's speech to Col. Johnson, with his Reply on the Subject matter of the Plate, which I hope will come time enough to communicate

to your Assembly. I am with very great regard,

Sir, Your Honour's most obedient
and very humble Servant,

(Signed) G. CLINTON

Fort George, 29 January, 1750.
To Honble. Gouv. Hamilton.

This letter itself and the speech and reply referred to therein will be found printed in full in the *Colonial Records of Penn.*, Vol. V., p. 508, etc. There is also a translation of the plate which shows that this particular one was buried, or to be buried, by "Celeron, Commandant of a detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissonière." It says it "was buried at the confluence of the Ohio and Ich-a-da-koin, this 29th day of July, near the river Ohio." On the authority of the Rev. Dr. Eaton, by the Ohio, in this case, we are to understand the Allegheny, and the creek named as the French Creek. This locality is, we believe, very near the "Indian God Rock," mentioned by Mr. Hayden; and shows that a plate bearing exactly the same inscription and date as the one usually figured was found as early as 1750.

The same volume of the *Records* contains a letter from Celeron to Governor Hamilton, dated August 16, 1749, and complaining of what he terms English encroachments upon French territory.

D. McN. STAUFFER

NEW YORK CITY.

DID WASHINGTON LAUGH? [xi. 80]

—Two further instances in which the usually grave Washington is said to have laughed, in moments of serious danger, will, it is believed, interest the readers of the Magazine.

"When the fate of the American army seemed to depend upon making a retreat from the encampment at Trenton, Washington laughed at an odd remark of old General Scott, who was about to defend the most important and dangerous post. Scott, who thought Washington was gone, said to his men, that they had been shooting too high. 'For that reason, boys, whenever you see them fellows first begin to put their feet on this bridge, *do you shin'em.*' The bridge was defended and the army preserved."

The second occasion was when Washington, as directed by a resolution of Congress, administered the oath of allegiance to the officers of the army, before leaving Valley Forge. Major-General Charles Lee—an Englishman—withdraw his hand from the proffered Bible. "This movement," says Lossing, "was repeated, to the astonishment of all. Washington inquired the reason of such strange conduct, when Lee replied, 'As to King George, I am ready enough to absolve myself from all allegiance to him; but I have some scruples about the Prince of Wales.' Even the grave Washington was obliged to join in the laughter which followed this odd reply. Lee eventually took the oath with the rest, and subscribed his name."

N. B. WEBSTER

NORFOLK, VA.

SOCIETIES

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting April 9, in the Society's room, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop in the chair. The attendance was unusually large. The record of the last meeting, and the Reports of the Council, of the Librarian, and the Treasurer were read and approved. Mr. Saltonstall, from the committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, made a report in writing, which, after referring in feeling terms to Mr. Winthrop's declining to serve as president another year, concluded as follows:

Your committee, therefore, does not consider that it would be fitting or proper that so long and distinguished a term of service, to which so much is owed, should come to an end unmarked. Various means of commemorating it have been thought of, but among these none has so much commended itself to the judgment of your committee as a suggestion from some of the more active members, that a full-length portrait of Mr. Winthrop should be obtained,—the gift of individuals, but to which all members of the Society would be at liberty to contribute,—and should be placed in the rooms of the Society with a suitable inscription. No formal action is called for to bring this about. It is understood that in accordance with the suggestion now made, a committee of members will be formed, who will take the matter in charge. This course will doubtless be most agreeable to Mr. Winthrop, as being the voluntary and spontaneous act of those composing the Society over which he has for so many years presided. It will best mark, too, the esteem in which

the donors hold him, and the personal affection which they will always feel towards him. All of which is respectfully submitted.

Charles F. Adams, Jr., Leverett Saltonstall, John Lowell, committee.

On a ballot the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D.; Vice-presidents, Charles Deane, LL.D., Francis Parkman, LL.B.; Recording Secretary, the Rev. Edward J. Young, A.M.; Corresponding Secretary, Justin Winsor, A.B.; Treasurer, Charles C. Smith, Esq.; Librarian, the Hon. Samuel A. Green, M.D.; Cabinet-keeper, Fitch Edward Oliver, M.D.; Executive Committee of the Council, William W. Greenough, A.B., the Hon. Samuel C. Cobb, Abbott Lawrence, A.M., Abner C. Goodell, A.M., the Hon. Melten Chamberlain, LL.B.

Dr. Ellis, on taking the chair said:

"I must gratefully recognize my high appreciation of the honor of being placed in the chair of this Society, the oldest of the now numerous associations of the class in our country, lacking but six years to complete a century. The honor is twofold: first, in the place assigned me, and, second, in being the successor in it of one who has for thirty years filled the chair with such grace and dignity, such wealth of attainments and accomplishments. Happily, we are not to feel that we have parted with him; remembering the venerable years with which his predecessor continued with us after his retirement from our presidency.

* * * * *

"I have held, and may have ventured to express the conviction, that in the

near or distant future the term of Mr. Winthrop's presidency may be referred to as a golden period in the records of this Society, for its full harmony, its healthful prosperity, and for the good work accomplished. Henceforward, more and more, it should be a prime object for those in its limited membership, to reinforce it by inviting to it men, young or mature, with acquisitions and trained intelligence, with congenial tastes, and, whatever the profession or task-work which engages them, with a degree of leisure to be spent in these rooms and with these materials."

Mr. Winthrop, who was greeted with loud applause, made a most feeling and appropriate reply, in which he referred to the distinguished persons, now dead, who had belonged to the Society since his first election to it more than forty-five years ago, and to the great names in history and literature—Sparks, Everett, Ticknor, Prescott, Longfellow and Emerson—which had adorned its membership during his tenure of the presidency, and he expressed his hope of still being able occasionally to attend the meetings.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting at the Cabinet, Providence, on the evening of April 7, President Gammell in the chair. Reports were read by the Secretary, Amos Perry, and by the Librarian. Among the gifts reported were several autograph letters of great value, and from the Honorable William A. Courteney, Mayor of Charleston, South Carolina, a copy of the "Great seal of the Lords proprietors of the Province of Carolina in the time of Charles II., displaying the

reverse sides of the coat of arms of the proprietors, being a fac-simile of a wax impression of the seal in possession of the Public Record Office, London, Eng." These Lords were eight in number, and their autographs are attached to the seal. The whole is a most handsome piece of workmanship. President Gammell read a very interesting paper on the life of Isaac Miles Bull, who died last autumn and who spent a portion of his life in Rhode Island, as a manufacturer, though he passed many years of his life in China. Mr. James M. Arnold spoke on the way the town records of North Kingstown were preserved, and of the picture of the "Drawing of the Deed," which he said was drawn up in Pulpit Rock, North Kingstown. He also referred to a number of natural curiosities in this section of the country.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA held its second anniversary meeting April 12, 1885. In the afternoon a business meeting was held in the parlors of the Young Men's Christian Association building, the President, Honorable John Jay, in the chair. The Secretary, the acting Librarian, and the Treasurer, read reports, and thirty-eight new members were elected. The following officers were chosen for the ensuing year:

President, John Jay.

Vice-Presidents, for New York, E. F. De Lancey; for Staten Island, Chauncey M. Depew; for New Rochelle, Henry M. Lester; for New Paltz, A. T. Clearwater; for Boston, Robert C. Winthrop; for New Oxford, Richard Alney; for Narragansett, William Ely; for Pennsyl-

vania, Charles M. Du Puy; for South Carolina, Daniel Ravenel.

Secretary, A. V. Wittmeyer.

Treasurer, M. H. Bartow.

Executive Committee, Joseph H. Gautier, B. F. De Costa, F. J. de Peyster, P. W. Gallaudet, and A. G. Vermilye.

In the evening a public meeting of the Society was held in the French Church Du Saint Esprit, at which the President, Mr. Jay, made an address reviewing the progress made by the Society during the past year; and the Rev. Prof. David D. Demarest read a paper on the "Huguenots on the Hackensack," in the course of which he said: "Several families of Huguenots settled on the Hackensack River in the year 1678. The leading spirit of this colony was David des Marest, who had purchased a large tract of land from the Tappan Indians, the year preceding. He was born at Beauchamp, a village in Picardy, France, about the year 1620. His father, Jean des Marest, subsequently removed, doubtless on account of the persecutions, to Middleburg, on the island of Walcheren, Zeeland. David there married Marie Sohier, daughter of François Sohier, of Nieppe, a town of Hainault, and thence removed to Mannheim, in the Palatinate, where the French Protestants enjoyed greater privileges. In 1663 he, with his wife and four children, embarked for America, which they reached in the month of April of that year. He joined the Huguenot colony at Staten Island, and was appointed a delegate to the Provincial Assembly called to consider the state of affairs just before the surrender of New Netherland to the British in 1664.

After a residence of two years on Staten Island he bought property in New

Harlem, and removed thither, where he resided twelve and a half years. He was connected with the Collegiate Dutch Church of New York, though attending French services when they were introduced, which was as early as 1674. He then bought property in New Jersey, with a view of bringing over some thirty or forty families of his countrymen and co-religionists from France to occupy it. The land purchased must have embraced several thousand acres on the eastern side of the Hackensack River. The southern boundary ran along a creek which empties into the Hackensack at New Bridge, about two miles north of the village of Hackensack, afterwards called French Creek. Running eastward, this boundary was a little north of Tenafly, towards the Palisades. The western boundary was the Hackensack River, extending northward into the province of New York—the boundary between the two provinces then being farther south than the present one. The eastern boundary was a creek running northward through the Closter Valley and near to the Palisades, and which turned westward and entered the Hackensack. The deed was given by Mendawasey, Sachem of the Tappan Indians, and twenty-six members of his tribe, to Sir George Carteret, Lord Proprietor of New Jersey, in behalf of David des Marest and his children, and payment was made in wampum, hatchets, blankets, hoes, knives, rum, etc., etc.

To this tract David des Marest removed with his wife, his two sons, Jean and David, and their wives and children, an unmarried son, Samuel, and Jaques La Roe. They located at Old Bridge, nearly four miles above Hackensack.

BOOK NOTICES

HISTORY OF THE HUGUENOT EMIGRATION TO AMERICA. By CHARLES W. BAIRD, D.D. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 802. With maps and illustrations. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

This handsome work is a fit companion to the *Rise of the Huguenots of France*, by Professor Henry M. Baird, the brother of Dr. Charles W. Baird, noticed in these pages in December, 1883 [x 528]. The story of the Huguenot Emigration to America is the fruit of careful investigations that have been in active progress for ten or twelve years, not only in this country but in France and England. The materials used by Dr. Baird have been found largely in unpublished documents. The fullness and the accuracy of the information obtained appears in every chapter. The reader begins with the early efforts to project colonies of French Protestants in America, learns of the train of events consequent upon the signing of the Edict of Nantes in 1598, of the settlement of Acadia, and the persecutions that drove so many of the French people from their native France, and may trace with tolerable exactitude the fortunes of hundreds of Huguenot families in America. The names alone of a large number of the emigrants, recorded with pains-taking care by the accomplished author, in text, foot-notes and appendices, are sufficient to render these noble octavo volumes priceless in all the future. No library can afford to do without them, and the descendants of the Huguenot emigrants, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will seek and read and treasure them for their children and their children's children. It is a notable fact that Dr. Baird is the first historical writer to present in connected and substantial form the interesting account of the Huguenot emigration to America. Glowing tributes have indeed been paid to the memory of the persecuted exiles, and much has been said of the value of the contribution made by them to the American character and spirit. But the entire literature of the subject, until the appearance of this excellent work, is comprehended in a few magazine and newspaper articles, passages in works on more general themes, and a few monographs relating to local settlements. Dr. Baird writes with scholarly precision, and in a readable and pleasing style. In the production of this valuable work he has rendered a service that will be generously appreciated by a large and intelligent audience.

THE AUTHENTICATION OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, July 4, 1776. By Mellen Chamberlain. [Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massa-

chusetts Historical Society, November, 1884.] Pamphlet. 8vo. pp. 28. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, University Press, 1885.

Judge Chamberlain discusses in this paper the long pending question as to the time of signing the Declaration of Independence by the delegates to the Congress of 1776. The arguments in favor of July 4th as the date of that act, drawn from the printed public journals of Congress and the statements of Adams and Jefferson are presented; and opposed to them the recollections of McKean, the original official records of Congress, and the demonstration of the terms of service of certain of the delegates whose signatures were appended to that instrument.

Were the question confined to the history of the parchment document which bears the fifty-six immortal names, it might now be considered as definitively settled, as this investigation shows that the printed Public Journals of 1776 are misleading, the testimony of the Secret Journals trustworthy, and that certain delegates who attached their names to it were not in Congress on the 4th of July—all proving that the instrument in this form did not exist prior to July 19th.

In deference to Adams and Jefferson, however, the hypothesis that there was an earlier signed copy still remains open.

It is an entirely reasonable assumption that the adoption of the Declaration did not require the attestation of the Members of Congress; there are strong indications that a feeling of personal responsibility was entertained by the friends of Independence as to their action in determining the position of the Colonies; it is possible that these Members were moved by considerations of policy to suppress the publication of the want of harmony in Congress in this crucial matter, desiring the display of a unanimity rather than a majority; it is noticeable that the journals show no signs of the existence of any other than the engrossed document; it is a fact that the record of the engrossed instrument was committed to the Secret rather than to the Public Journals, and that the names were withheld from the public until after the Order of January 18, 1777. These circumstances may have some weight in future discussions as to an earlier signed copy. While the subject will continue to be an interesting one for speculation, until proofs corroborative of the recollections of Adams and Jefferson are produced, it can only be a matter of speculation.

JOHN ADAMS. By JOHN I. MORSE, Jr. 12mo, pp. 337. **JOHN MARSHALL.** By ALLAN B. MAGRUDER. 12mo, pp. 290.

[American Statesmen.] Houghton, Mifflin & Co: Boston, 1885.

These volumes are among the latest issues of the "American Statesmen Series," edited by John I. Morse, Jr. The first is from his own pen, the second by Mr. Allan B. Magruder.

It would be difficult to find any two of the very able and brilliant men who carried through the American Revolution, diverse in mental character as they were, whose characters, as well as characteristics, were more diametrically opposed to each other than the two subjects of these separate volumes. Marshall cool, calm, modest, judicious, dignified, possessed to an extraordinary degree of the greatest common-sense and the greatest power of reasoning. Adams hot, hasty, quarrelsome, lacking tact, boiling over with vanity, wanting in dignity, and continually getting into difficulties, yet gifted with such untiring energy and power of will that it overcame all obstacles, and such penetration and acuteness of intellect that his conclusions and actions seemed the result of an intuition almost electrical in its nature. The former a gentleman by birth, position and education, the latter of such humble family origin that he owed to his education his social position. They were not only contemporaries, Adams being the elder of the two, but their careers were so intermingled, that it is doubtful if that of Adams as a statesman would not have closed with even greater antagonism and ill-feeling than it did had it not been for Marshall's acceptance of his renewed invitation to his Cabinet as Secretary of State; while to Adams, Marshall owed the mission to France and the Cabinet position, which alone entitle him to a place among "American Statesmen," as well as that greater office, the chief-justiceship of the Supreme Court of the United States, in which he was destined to confer upon his country obligations, second only to those conferred upon it by Washington himself.

Mr. Morse has given us, with force and entire freedom, his individual view of Adams—not a brief connected biography, but a study of the man, based upon the nine or ten volumes of Adams' work published by Congress under the editorship of his distinguished son, and his public career and writings. And this he has done well, and very agreeably. As a view of Adams, as illustrated by the chiefest of the more salient points in his long career, this "Life" is a success. But if Mr. Morse's aim was to present, in brief, a connected history of Adams and his career, for the benefit of those who have not the time to devote to a larger work, or for the use of schools, so that such readers should acquire a general knowledge of him as a whole, the book is a failure, for it is sketchy, and lacks the necessary distinct outline and detail.

Mr. Magruder has adopted a different course. He does give us a connected sketch of Marshall and his career from the beginning to the end,

fairly and impartially written. Perhaps he lays too much emphasis on the portion of his life prior to becoming chief-justice. For, excepting the mission to France and the admirable way in which he foiled so skillful a diplomatist as Talleyrand, and prevented Gerry's tortuous course from affecting injuriously his native land, he had no opportunity of showing his statesmanship. He proves that there was no real foundation for the "Midnight Judges" scandal that Jefferson talked so angrily about.

It was Marshall's long and splendid career as chief-justice to which he owes that magnificent reputation which will endure as long as the Constitution of the United States endures. It is safe to say, that had not Marshall, from his own unaided good-sense, knowledge of the men, and of the facts and circumstances, by whom, and under which the Constitution was framed—for there were no precedents for him to rely upon—made that splendid series of decisions, construing that instrument in the way he did, this country would not have reached its present strength and grandeur.

He was neither a learned lawyer nor versed deeply in jurisprudence; and until he ascended the judgment seat of the Union he had never held a judicial position of any kind. It was simply the combination in him, in a degree rarely seen, of the strongest good common-sense, unequaled power of reasoning and lucidity of statement, with absolute honesty and impartiality, which enabled him so to perform his duties as, at one and the same time, to lay deep the foundations and build well thereon the temple of a nation's liberty and his own eternal monument. Mr. Magruder has executed his task well, and made this volume one of the most valuable of the series.

THE COLONIAL JETONS OF LOUIS

XV. And other Pieces Relating to the French Colonial Possessions in America, and to their Conquest by England. By GEORGE M. PARSONS. Reprinted from the American Journal of Numismatics. For private circulation only. Monograph. 8vo. pp. 15. Columbus, O.

The series of pieces relating to the French colonies in America—known as Jetons—were issued by the Mint of France in the latter part of the reign of Louis XV. This little monograph of Mr. Parsons is devoted to a description of their devices and legends, in connection with a historical sketch of the French colonies in America. Eighteen illustrations serve an educative purpose. On one Jeton, for instance, are two globes, one of which displays the outlines of the Western, the other of the Eastern, hemisphere; above, the sun diffuses its rays in splendor over both globes, and the legend is, *Satis unus utrique*—"one is sufficient for each;" the sun of France suffices for both worlds.

HISTORICAL RESEARCHES IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA. Principally Catholic. 8vo, pp. 40. Published Quarterly. **REGISTER OF FORT DUQUESNE.** Translated from the French, with an Introductory Essay and Notes. Square quarto, pp. 96. Pamphlet. By REV. A. A. LAMBING, A.M. Pittsburg, Pa. 1885: Myres, Shinkle & Co.

Father Lambing is the well-known author of the *History of the Catholic Church in Western Pennsylvania*, a model of its kind. In establishing a quarterly periodical, under the above title, he has in view the commendable object of collecting and preserving the records of the past, especially among Catholics. One of the first papers published was entitled "Celeron's Expedition Down the Allegany and Ohio Rivers in 1749." The October issue contained an able essay on "The French in Western Pennsylvania in Early Times." The January issue, among other features, presented interesting data on the early history of Pittsburg.

"The Register of Fort Duquesne" is a work of surpassing interest. A limited number of copies have been printed on elegant paper, with wide margins, for the special benefit of the book-collector. The origin of the Register is explained by Father Lambing in a concise introductory essay to the volume. Although the Register professes to be of Fort Duquesne only, it contains a number of entries from the other posts occupied by the French before they took possession of the spot on which Fort Duquesne was built. The notes are pertinent and valuable.

THE LENÂPÉ AND THEIR LEGENDS, with the Complete Text and Symbols of the Walam Olum. **BRINTON'S LIBRARY OF ABORIGINAL AMERICAN LITERATURE.** No. V. Edited by DANIEL G. BRINTON, A.M., M.D. 8vo, pp. 256. Philadelphia: 1885.

This volume embraces a series of ethnological studies of the Indians of Eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland. The Walam Olum, or Red Score, was a record supposed for a long time to have been lost. Dr. Brinton says: "Having obtained the original text complete about a year ago, I printed a few copies and sent them to several educated native Delawares, with a request for aid in its translation and opinions on its authenticity. The interest in the subject thus excited prompted me to a general review of our knowledge of the Lenâpé or Delawares, their history and traditions, their language and customs. This disclosed the existence of a number of manuscripts not mentioned in bibliographies, some in the first rank of importance, especially in the field of linguistics." The book before us is curiously instructive, even

should more searching criticism prove the Walam Olum to be a fabrication. The manuscript from which it has been printed is a small quarto of forty unnumbered leaves, in the handwriting of Rafinesque. It treats of the formation of the universe, the appearance of the Evil Manito in the guise of a gigantic serpent, the flood or deluge Myth, the removal of tribes from Snake-land to the East, and wars and settlements in America.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, at Utica, New York, 1881-1884. Pamphlet. 8vo, pp. 228. Utica, 1885: Ellis H. Roberts & Co.

The active work done by the Oneida Historical Society reflects great credit upon its officers and members. Its publications have brought out important facts of both local and general interest pertaining to central New York, and corrected many errors of tradition that for years had been accepted as matters of actual history. The volume just issued embraces descriptions of the Whitestone Centennial, Whitesboro's Golden Age, the Wagner Re-interment, Old Fort Schuyler Celebration, and the Dedication of the Oriskany monument, together with the able historical addresses of such men as Charles Tracy, Rev. Dr. Anson J. Upson, Rev. Dr. Durham, J. R. Simms, Rev. Dr. Wortman, C. W. Hutchinson, John F. Seymour, Ellis H. Roberts, William Dorsheimer, and Rev. Dr. Isaac S. Hartley. It also contains a number of papers that have been read from time to time before the Society, and much valuable family history. Fourteen pages are occupied with the poem of Benjamin F. Taylor, read at the Whitestone Centennial. Several illustrations add interest to the volume, the most notable of which are the portraits of Hugh White, and Col. Peter Schuyler, from whom Old Fort Schuyler received its name. The publication is issued in admirable taste, printed in large clear type on soft creamy paper.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANISM—Its Origin and Early History, together with an Appendix of Letters and Documents, many of which have recently been discovered. By CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D.D. With Maps. 8vo, pp. 373. New York, 1885: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The discovery of original documents unknown to former writers, which illustrate with a flood of light the origin and early history of American Presbyterianism, is the distinguished author's apology for entering a field so carefully trodden hitherto by some of the best scholars the churches of America have produced. While spending a summer in Great Britain, Dr. Briggs took ad-

vantage of the opportunity to explore the manuscript stores of the museums and ecclesiastical and missionary bodies of Great Britain, and was surprised at the rich harvest awaiting him. With the single exception of the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, these sources of information had not been reached by his predecessors. The religious movements in Great Britain were immediately reflected in America. The conflicts of Presbyterianism with other religious bodies in Great Britain were a legacy of trouble to the young colonial churches.

Dr. Briggs traces the growth of the foremost missionary movements of Great Britain and America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with a masterly pen. He says: "There are several phases of Presbyterianism, a number of different types of the general system. It is important to distinguish the essential features of the Presbyterian family from the peculiarities which belong to particular lands and special denominations and parties. There are features which determine all genuine Presbyterianism, and there are types which are the complements of one another as the legitimate children of the Presbyterian family. Presbyterianism belongs to the modern age of the world, to the British type of Protestantism; but it is not a departure from the Christianity of the ancient and mediæval Church. It is rather the culmination of the development of Christianity from the times of the apostles until the present day. It comprehends the genuine Christianity of all ages. It conserves all the achievements of the Christian Church." The book has evidently been conceived in a catholic spirit, and written upon a comprehensive plan. The author's aim to be just and kind to all denominations and parties while discussing their differences is conspicuously apparent; at the same time he unhesitatingly condemns the error, sin, and partisanship he finds in his researches, claiming that no good can ever come from the suppression of truth or principle. Authorities are very largely given in foot-notes and in the appendix. Two maps accompany the work, one showing all the settlements in the American colonies where Presbyterian churches were in process of formation at the close of the seventeenth century; the other giving all the towns mentioned by John Eliot in his Description of New England in 1650. The work is ably and concisely written, represents a vast fund of ecclesiastical lore, and is an exceptionally valuable contribution to the early history of the churches, towns, and colonies of America.

port of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, Presented at the Annual Meeting held in Worcester, October 21, 1884. 8vo. Pamphlet, pp. 40. For private distribution.

This carefully prepared monograph contains much curious and noteworthy information. It seems that as early as 1652, in a report made to the Massachusetts General Court, there is an allusion to "what hath bin thought of by any for raising a Banke," and in the draught of an address to Charles II, in 1684, mention is made of the fact that before the establishment of a mint, in 1652, "For some yeares, *paper bills* passed for payment of debts." Mr. Trumbull, in addition to the scanty general knowledge of the first banks and bank projectors in New England, adds the substance of a rare tract printed in 1682, which has hitherto escaped notice, and which establishes the fact that a private bank of credit was founded in Massachusetts in 1781, and did not ruin its projector.

COLONEL JOHN BAYARD (1738-1807) and the Bayard Family of America. Anniversary Address before the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, February 27, 1885. By GENERAL JAMES GRANT WILSON. 8vo. Pamphlet, pp. 24. New York: 1885.

The portrait in steel of James Asheton Bayard, nephew and adopted son of the subject, the frontispiece to this little volume, represents a singularly handsome man in the prime of life. He was the grandfather of our present Secretary of State. General Wilson's discourse relates chiefly, however, to the career of Colonel John Bayard, who saw active service in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Princeton. His battalion was a part of the force led by Washington in person at Princeton. In Philadelphia, prior to its capture by the British in 1777, Colonel Bayard dispensed a generous hospitality in which nearly all of the great men of the period participated. The author relates many anecdotes, and gives fresh life and animation to the scenes of long ago. The family history which the address embodies will be warmly appreciated by the numerous descendants. The nephew, whose picture is mentioned above, is described as a tall, well-proportioned erect man, of light complexion, light hair, handsome features, and courteous manners. His wife was the daughter of Richard Bassett, of Delaware, one of the "Framers of the Constitution."

FIRST ESSAYS AT BANKING, and the FIRST PAPER MONEY in New England. By J. HAMMOFD TRUMBULL. From the Re-

HISTORY OF ROCKLAND COUNTY, New York. Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men. Edited by Rev. DAVID COLE, D.D.

Square quarto, pp. 344. 1884. J. B. Beers & Co.: New York.

The most extensive town history embodied in this work is that of Haverstraw, written by W. S. Pelletreau. The map of original land grants which accompanies the sketch is of curious interest, while the text furnishes data of value and importance. The history of Haverstraw embraces also the early history of Clarkstown and Stony Point. The house of Joshua Hett Smith is pictured both with the pen and the artist's pencil. It was built in 1770, or thereabouts, and owned by Thomas Smith, Joshua Hett Smith's brother. William Smith, who removed to this country with his father in 1715, died in 1769, at the age of 73, leaving six sons, of whom were the two mentioned above. He was the owner of two-sevenths of the immense tract of land covered by the Cheesecock Patent—not less, we are told, than twenty thousand acres. The Smith family were influential and had many tenants living on their lands in the time of the Revolution, but as landlords they were not popular.

The sketch of the Central Presbyterian Church was contributed by its pastor, Rev. Amasa S. Freeman, whose fine steel portrait graces the opposite page. He has preached in this church and lecture-room thirty-eight years, and more than four thousand sermons. The history of brick-making in Haverstraw is one of the interesting features of the volume. The business was successfully established by James Wood about 1815, and has been the source of great wealth. Mr. Pelletreau describes the improvements in the making of brick from time to time, and shows how the enterprise enriched the land-owners as well as the manufacturers. The number of bricks made in 1883 was some 302,647,000.

Of special interest also is the history of "Ramapo Pass," which has been traced in detail with conscientious care. The early settlers of Stony Point are described as "honest, frugal, industrious, and simple in their tastes. No hurrying to meet cars or steamboats, no anxiety as to bank accounts, nor even a post office." Fort Clinton, the Ferries, Penny Bridge, Kidd's Dam, Grassy Point, Iona Island, Lake Sini-pink, the mines of the town, and the churches are treated with marked attention. The family sketches in the volume, nearly all written by Mr. Pelletreau, are of much more than local interest; notable among those whose history is given are the Piersons, Coes, and Gurnees. The last name was originally spelled "Garnier." The family is of Huguenot origin, and the descendants are nu-

merous, one of whom, Walter S. Gurnee—whose portrait is given—was Mayor of Chicago in 1851. Henry Pierson, from whom the Piersons of Ramapo descend, was a brother of the Rev. Abraham Pierson, the first minister of Newark, New Jersey.

The Record of Baptisms at Tappan and Clarkstown, from 1694 to 1816, which occupies an Appendix of seventy-five pages at the close of the volume, is in itself a treasure which to many will be worth the price of the whole work. Some sixty portraits embellish the pages, also several maps, and numerous views of dwelling-houses. The editor has contributed some portion of the text, particularly that of the Tappan Church and its pastors; but contributions are embodied in the book from a large number of writers, as is usual in the preparation of such publications.

HEALTH AT HOME. (Appleton's Home Books.) By A. H. GUERNSEY and IRENÆUS P. DAVIS, M.D. 12mo, pp. 155. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The authors have evidently made a serious study of the subject treated in this volume, and have had practical demonstration of the evil effects of breathing a vitiated atmosphere, drinking unfiltered water, etc., etc. Concerning "The Food we Eat," which, taken as a whole, must contain, and in due proportions, all the elements which go to make up the body whose waste it has to repair, we are told that "a piece of the dry bark of a tree contains in it nearly all of the elements of the human body, but not in a digestible form." The chapter on this topic is instructive, and if not altogether an essay on cooking, it furnishes valuable hints to every head of a home and family. Of the vegetables in common use, peas and beans are said to contain more nutriment in proportion to their weight than any other; and sweet potatoes are much more nutritious than Irish potatoes. "Pound for pound, the former contain nearly twice as much available nutriment as the latter." The chapter entitled "The Clothing We Wear" is equally worthy of close attention; but by far the best sermon in this little book of sermons is what we read about home habits. "Cheerfulness should be cultivated, as a constant habit and by all innocent means—by amusements, by social intercourse, by reading pleasant books—and maintained as one essential condition to bodily health. One should look most upon the bright, not upon the dark side, of things." The book is full of sound advice and valuable suggestion.

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CHARLES O'CONOR

HIS PROFESSIONAL LIFE AND CHARACTER *

I REMEMBER Mr. O'Connor almost as long as I remember anything. His father and mine were acquaintances, and my recollections extend over more than sixty years, many of which I have passed upon the bench of a court where, for many years, he sat almost constantly before me. I mention this long acquaintance, not to excite the interest of what I may have to say, but because having known him so long, and seen him under such a variety of circumstances, it enables me to confirm in the outset all that has been said in the public journals at the time of his death respecting his high integrity, his scorn of everything mean, his strong sense of justice, his generosity, benevolence, tenderness, and, I may add, what is but little known, his modesty in respect to his own acquirements and position as a lawyer.

It may interest those who value genealogical inquiries, to know that Mr. O'Connor was a lineal descendant of Roderick O'Connor, the last king of Ireland, a ruler who, from being king of one of the provinces, ultimately became monarch of the whole island, and afterwards transferred the sovereignty of it to Henry II., King of England, by a treaty, the validity of which the Irish for seven centuries have denied, and the English have as tenaciously insisted upon.

A direct line of descent from the twelfth century is a long lineage, even in Europe; but Mr. O'Connor's ancestry went even further back and is traceable in the Irish annals up to the fourth century. In the many conversations I have had with him upon Irish history and antiquities, a subject upon which he was well informed, I do not remember his ever mentioning the name of Roderick O'Connor, or even alluding to the disastrous period of Irish history in which he reigned. Though a republican in his political sentiments; disliking the British government, which he invariably called a government by the British gentry; and indignant at its misrule in Ireland.

* An address delivered at the request of the New York Historical Society, of which Mr. O'Connor was one of the Vice-Presidents.

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